

Lessons
of
New Hampshire

Pages 3 and 8

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 16, NO. 14

FEB. 26-MARCH 10, 1992

\$2.00

PRIVATE IDAHO, PUBLIC DISASTER



A century
of mining
turned the state's
Silver Valley
into a
Superfund site.

Will the
EPA's cleanup
take another
100 years?

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Is U.S. overstaying its Gulf welcome?

By Stephen Zunes

MANAMA, BAHRAIN

In the year since the Gulf War, the U.S. has thrown its immense military, diplomatic and economic weight behind the monarchies of the Persian Gulf—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Though these nations have less than 10 percent of the Arab world's total population, they control most of its wealth and some of the most strategically important territory on the globe.

Prior to the war, it was difficult for the U.S. to engage in military exercises or even arrange a port call in these countries without asking for permission months in advance. Not any more. Throughout the region, American military officials are difficult to miss—even though they wear civilian clothes so as not to offend the local population.

The U.S. Army was supposed to pull out at the war's close a year ago; instead, it stayed until December. The Air Force was supposed to be gone by now; it remains. And the U.S. Navy presence in the region is far greater than anyone anticipated.

Sticking around: Ostensibly, the U.S. military is still here for a number of reasons: to fill in a perceived strategic vacuum, to utilize the region as a staging ground for combat training, to strengthen Arab-American military ties and to finish up mine-clearing operations. In addition, American forces continue to put pressure on the Iraqi government and to enforce U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's government.

But in reality, the U.S. force is, in effect, the beginning of a permanent U.S. military presence in the Gulf. The financial costs of this presence will be extraordinary. And if American taxpayers don't wind up getting stuck with the tab, the oil states themselves will—thus essentially making the U.S. military a mercenary force. The greatest costs may be political, however, as a continued U.S. presence may fuel anti-

American extremism that could create a cycle of violence and intervention.

The current U.S. Gulf policy has its roots in 1969, when the British declared their intention to withdraw their military from "east of the Suez." The U.S. was determined to fill in the void. As domestic opposition to the Vietnam War grew, however, the prospects of the U.S. sending combat troops to this volatile region was not politically feasible. Anti-war sentiment had been curbed in part by the Nixon administration's "Vietnamization" program, in which a reliance on South Vietnamese conscripts and a dramatically increased air war had minimized American casualties. As a result, the Nixon doctrine (also known as the Guam doctrine or "surrogate strategy") came into being. Vietnamization evolved into a global policy of arming Third World allies to do Washington's dirty work.

The Persian Gulf was the primary testing ground, with Iran's shah—who owed his throne to CIA intervention and had long dreamed of rebuilding the Persian Empire—a willing participant. Throughout the '70s, the U.S. sold tens of billions of dollars worth of highly sophisticated arms to the shah's government. Washington also sent thousands of U.S. advisers to turn the Iranian armed forces into a sophisticated fighting unit capable of counterinsurgency operations. Such a strategy proved successful when Iranian forces helped crush a leftist insurgency in the southeastern Arabian sultanate of Oman in the mid-'70s.

This strategy came crashing down in 1979, however, with Iran's Islamic revolution, fueled in part by resentment for the strong American presence in the country and by disgust with the shah's penchant for military procurement over internal economic development.

It was then that the Carter doctrine came into being, with the establishment of the Rapid Deployment Force (later known as the Central Command). This extremely costly effort was designed to enable the U.S. to fight a war that would rely so heavily on air power, could be over so quickly and have such a favorable casualty ratio that popular domestic opposition would not have time to mobilize. This, of course, turned out to be the scenario for Operation Desert Storm. Though the exact circumstances that would lead to such a war were not known, a massive U.S. intervention in the Gulf region had, in effect, been planned for more than a dozen years. It was designed less for strategic reasons than for domestic political impact. For better or worse, it worked.

Uncomfortable alliances: Now that the war is over, the U.S. seems to be settling in for the long haul, despite the skepticism of even those Arabs who supported the war.

Already, for example, the southern third of the tiny island state of Bahrain, the site of a dramatically expanded U.S. military base, is off limits to most Bahrainis. (The U.S. insists it is not a base but a "forward operations" center.)

The U.S. admiral in Bahrain oversees more than 18,000 sailors. Over Christmas, the Bahrainis threw a big party for American military personnel, even sending in Santa Claus on a camel. According to the former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. William Crowe, Bahrain was "pound for pound, man for man, the best ally the U.S. has anywhere in the world." The large, fortress-like U.S. Embassy completed just 18 months ago is larger than comparable facilities in Arab states with 40 times Bahrain's population.

Perhaps the most dramatic sign of an increased U.S. military role in the Gulf comes from the United Arab Emirates, traditionally one of the region's most reticent nations about a U.S. military presence. UAE President Sheik Zayed ibn Sultan stated just two years ago that the U.S. was the second-worst enemy of the Arab world, behind Israel. During the war, however, the UAE provided the U.S. with what one State Department official referred to as a "blank check." Today, the UAE constitutes the largest liberty port in the world for U.S. sailors, even surpassing the Philippines.

At the luxurious seaside Hilton Hotel in Fujairah, on the east coast of the UAE, more than half the rooms are rented, at U.S. taxpayers' expense, for American military personnel. At the city's airport, more than half the traffic is American military. (Most of the civilian traffic is cargo, with Aeroflot the biggest carrier, making this perhaps the only airport in the world where the U.S. Air Force and the Soviet airline are the two primary users.)

American liberals' traditional arguments against close U.S. military cooperation with the Gulf states have little merit. Barring a big drop in oil prices or petty squabbling among

rulers, the Gulf countries are quite stable politically. While these countries do not have Western-style democracies, economic prosperity and the *majlis* system, which enables all citizens to directly petition royalty with their concerns, have essentially pacified the population. Human-rights violations against citizens are relatively minor compared to Iraq, Syria or the Israeli-occupied territories, though abuse of foreign nationals continues. All of the Gulf states are ready to recognize Israel once Palestinian rights are also recognized, so there is little risk that U.S. arms would be used against the Jewish state.

Yet while the Gulf countries are genuinely interested in military cooperation with the U.S. and generally find the U.S. role far less overbearing compared with their previous experience with the British, there is great anxiety within these countries about the risk of domination.

Growing differences: Virtually all Gulf Arabs felt threatened after Iraq's seizure of Kuwait and therefore supported the war. Nonetheless, an enormous amount of cynicism regarding U.S. motives remains. Local Arabs cannot shake the sense that the war was not fought on the grounds of international law, self-determination and human rights, as the Bush administration claimed, but simply to protect U.S. access to oil and for Washington to gain a strategic toe hold

INSIDE STORY

in the region. A continued U.S. presence is welcome only as long as the Gulf states believe they need a foreign military presence to protect them.

Despite resentment that many Palestinians sided with Iraq in the war—and the widespread persecution of Gulf Palestinians that followed—there is still much sympathy for their cause. Washington's double standard of going to war over the principle of self-determination for Kuwait while refusing to support that same principle for Palestine is the subject of widespread resentment.

As a counter to Saddam Hussein's nationalistic appeals, Gulf leaders put their reputations throughout the Arab world on the line by insisting that the U.S. was sincere in pushing for Israeli-Palestinian peace. Regional experts fear a dramatic anti-American backlash should the peace talks fail.

Many in the Gulf states also worry about the ongoing sanctions against Iraq. These concerns are based not only on humanitarian grounds but on the possibility that the sanctions could lead Iraq to splinter. The prospect of a radical Shiite Arab state in southern Iraq is particularly frightening to Bahrain, which has a Shiite majority that has at times been restive under the Sunni ruling family.

A deeper problem involves differing Arab and American notions about whether "security" should be based on military might or social justice and economic strength. Arab Monetary Fund officials based in Abu Dhabi expressed great disappointment that the U.S. has effectively blocked the establishment of a proposed Middle East Development Bank. The wealthy Gulf states would contribute a lot more to regional development than they are currently through existing institutions if the U.S. and other developed countries would share the burden. Without U.S. participation, however, it is unlikely the European Economic Community or Japan would do so on their own.

These officials believed that such a development bank could become exclusively a self-supporting Mideast enterprise within five years if they could count on initial Western support. With settlement of the Palestinian problem, they would welcome Israeli participation in such regional economic cooperation, excited by what the combination of Israeli technology, Palestinian industriousness and Gulf oil wealth could do for the Mideast.

But given Washington's emphasis on a U.S. military presence, some Gulf Arabs wonder whether this Arab-Israeli cooperation is just the sort of New World Order Washington wants to prevent.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1992 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 16, No. 14) published Feb. 26, 1992, for newsstand sales Feb. 26-March 10, 1992.

By David Moberg

The road ahead for the Democrats

NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTERS ARE POLITICAL tea leaves. The first readers were candidates, campaign staffs and journalists.

Now, during these first few weeks after the Granite State balloting, more definitive interpretations are coming from primary voters in South Dakota, Colorado, Maryland, Georgia and South Carolina, as well as party caucus-goers in nine other states. That leads up to this year's slightly less super version of Super Tuesday, the March 10 primary and caucus votes in 11 states, including several important Southern states.

No knockout punch: New Hampshire has often winnowed the field of candidates and given a big boost to the winner of either the real voting or the expectations game. But this year will probably be different for the Democrats, and the field will remain murky for quite a while. Although Paul Tsongas sustained his surge following Bill Clinton's fall

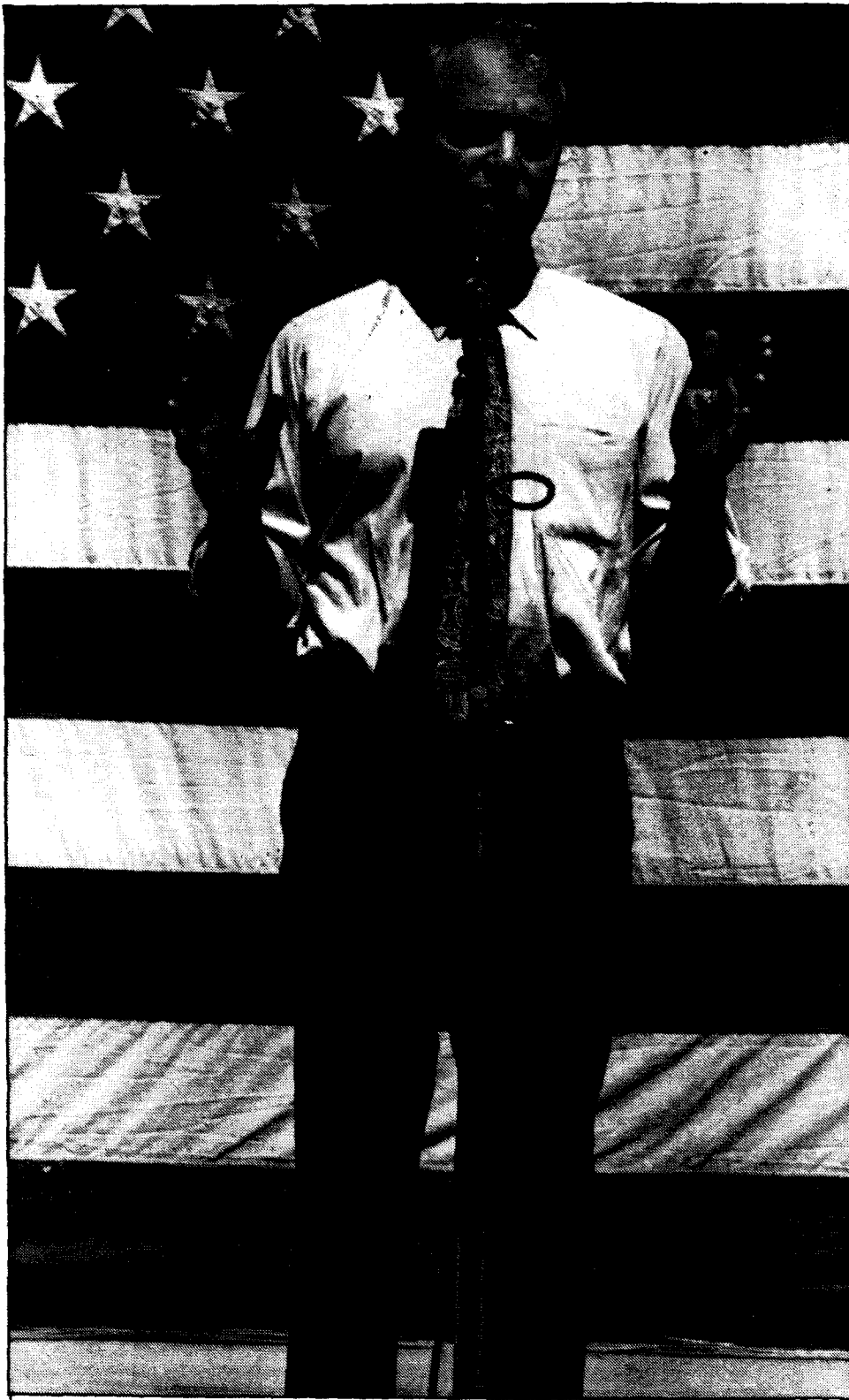
In the primary votes following New Hampshire, nearly every candidate except Jerry Brown seems to have a shot at winning at least one state. And because the campaigns are short on funds for advertising, journalists may play an even bigger role in the race.

from grace and partial redemption, none of the candidates can be counted out completely, even if some are down.

No candidate has a bankroll big enough to exploit or to strongly challenge media perceptions of the first primary. Clinton, by far the best financed, had raised about \$5 million by late January. Yet that was half of what Michael Dukakis had amassed at the same stage in 1988. Tsongas, who appealed disproportionately to upper-middle-class Democrats in New Hampshire, may see money flowing much faster now. Yet he will still have to rush to catch up, having raised only \$1 million in 1991, about half of what Tom Harkin and Bob Kerrey had each raised. Tsongas also has weaker field organizations than other candidates in many states.

The candidates, even Clinton, will be able to afford relatively less TV advertising this year. Thus it will be up to print and broadcast journalism to filter and amplify—or ignore—the candidates' messages. If no candidate gains a huge financial advantage, those bringing up the rear in New Hampshire may find it still makes sense to remain contenders. Even Jerry Brown may not be as discouraged by his last-place showing as a conventional money- and media-oriented candidate might have been.

Polls and interviews with political analysts suggest that voters in most of the upcoming battlegrounds still have an unclear image of the Democratic contenders and overwhelmingly have not decided on a candidate. Al-



The going gets tough: Southern Democrats "will view Tsongas as another Dukakis," says one expert.

though Tsongas' rise in the New Hampshire polls affected his standing in many other states, observers in several states with early votes were convinced he could not repeat his New Hampshire performance.

Equal opportunity: Other candidates are well-positioned in some early states. As *In These Times* went to press, South Dakota's February 25 primary was seen as a face-off between Harkin, with a strong base among Democratic farmers, and Kerrey, who has strong support with the Sioux in the western part of the state (in a reprise of Bobby Kennedy's 1968 strategy). Harkin also has a strong grass-roots organization—as well as the support of several party leaders, including Sen. Paul Wellstone—in Minnesota, which holds its caucus on March 3.

In Colorado, both Clinton and Kerrey had strong support and organizations, yet Tsongas matched Kerrey in mid-February polls with virtually no organization. Despite widespread uneasiness about whether reports of infidelity and draft-dodging will cause lasting

damage to his candidacy, Clinton retained a strong edge in Georgia and South Carolina. In Maryland, Kerrey, Clinton and Harkin all have established organizations, but Tsongas could pick up support quickly. Nearly every candidate except Brown, who pulled off a surprise victory in Maryland in 1976, seems to have a shot at winning at least one state, whatever his showing in New Hampshire.

Yet the prevailing view around the country is that voters aren't tuned in yet, don't know the candidates, and feel a vague sense of disquiet about their choices. "I think the electorate doesn't have a clue [about the primary elections]," said Jim Rosappe, a Maryland state legislator and deputy party chairman. "They don't even know the primary is coming up in two weeks. I think the media will narrow the field. It doesn't make any difference what the voters feel. If two of the five [major candidates] get treated like Larry Agran [the former Irvine, Calif., mayor who has been excluded from the Democratic debates], then it doesn't make any difference

what their message is."

Whistling Dixie (out of tune): In particular black voters, who make up major blocs in Maryland, Georgia and South Carolina, appear uncommitted or unexcited. In South Carolina and Georgia, party leaders—including some liberal blacks like Atlanta's Rep. John Lewis—lined up early behind Clinton.

Few other candidates have even made much of an appearance in the South. Harkin showed up in South Carolina and declared that his agenda was the same as Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition in a blunt bid for black support that alienated some white Democratic party leaders.

Despite that early support for Clinton, University of South Carolina political scientist Earl Black thinks that "Clinton is severely damaged," fairly or not, by the Gennifer Flowers and draft controversies. He thinks most Southern party leaders share that view but stick with Clinton because they see all the other candidates as having even less chance of beating President Bush in the South.

"There would be much gnashing of teeth" if Southern leaders were forced to name a second choice, Black said. "There isn't anyone in the field they consider electable. There'd be some support for Kerrey, but very little for Harkin. The perception here is that northern liberals are disastrous. Most people in [Southern] Democratic primaries will view Tsongas as another Dukakis. That's a heavy burden to bear."

The South remains a massive obstacle to Democratic presidential success. Black and his brother Merle, of Emory University, argue in their new book, *The Vital South: How Presidents Are Elected*, that the 11 states from Virginia to Texas will cast 27 percent of the electoral vote in the general election. If the Republicans carry all those states, the Democrats will have to win two-thirds of the remaining electoral votes. Even before his imbroglios, Clinton would have had trouble winning more than a few of the border states in the general election, Black speculated.

Although Democrats could build their base in the South by registering and motivating more black voters, there are also many unregistered whites that Republicans could sign up. Massive mobilization of blacks could help the Republicans in that effort, Black contends.

A bread-and-butter base: Yet in the South as well as across the country, polls show that there are two overwhelming issues of concern to voters: the economy (both short-term jobs and longer-term prosperity) and health care, with education often following closely. In theory, these should be prime Democratic issues. They are also issues that can be addressed with programs that transcend the racial politics that have crippled Democrats, especially in the South and in presidential elections.

Unfortunately the Democrats are still quite divided among themselves about what to do on either major issue. This could be a time for a bold call for national economic renewal, based on new public investment, comprehensive educational opportunity,

Continued on page 10

By Joel Bleifuss

Bush's Watergate

Where are the missing Inslaw files? That is one question in search of an answer in the 10-year-old drama that has pitted a Washington, D.C.-based software firm named Inslaw against the Justice Department. As a senior Justice Department official has alleged: "[The Inslaw scandal] is a lot dirtier for the Department of Justice than Watergate had been."

For six of those years, the Inslaw Corporation, which is owned by Bill and Nancy Hamilton, has been in federal court charging the Justice Department with robbing it of its software program, conspiring to send the company into bankruptcy and then initiating a cover-up. (See *In These Times* May 29, 1991.)

The software in question is PROMIS (Prosecutors Management Information System)—a revolutionary program that can not only track legal cases but whole populations. What's more, PROMIS is able to translate and then merge different databases. (See "The First Stone," January 29.)

Two federal judges have found in Inslaw's favor. Judge George Bason, the federal bankruptcy judge for Washington, D.C., ruled in 1987: "The Department of Justice took, converted, stole" the Inslaw software "by trickery, fraud and deceit." Now, *In These Times* has learned that the Justice Department is covering up its theft with trickery, fraud and intimidation.

The House Judiciary Committee opened its investigation of the Inslaw affair in August 1989 and asked then-Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to turn over all relevant documents. The Justice Department refused, and in July 1991 the committee finally subpoenaed them. The documents arrived in early August. Attached was a letter from the Justice Department's Office of Legislative Affairs. The note said that one volume of Inslaw material, 54 documents in all, had disappeared in April 1991.

But these files were not merely misplaced, according to Justice Department sources who are now speaking out. Three sources told me last week that the Justice Department has on at least two occasions tampered with Inslaw-related documents. In one instance, it is alleged that in late April 1991, sensitive Inslaw documents were trucked from a Justice Department safe to the CIA, while on a separate occasion other highly sensitive Inslaw material was shredded at the department.

"Under the Paperwork Reduction Act [1980], they have the right to take paper out at a certain time and destroy it," said a current Justice Department official. "In theory they could have taken Inslaw documents out and destroyed them. It is perfectly legal."

Whistle while you work: The three whistle-blowers have 50-plus years of government service among them. All three voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Two are fans of former Attorney General Edwin Meese. They would talk only on the condition of anonymity.

"Everybody who wants to blow the whistle on Inslaw was forced out," said one of the three who is currently at Justice. "It doesn't pay to even cross them. You don't have to be a whistle-blower. You just have to be perceived as a possible whistle-blower or threat."

According to the three sources, one concerned worker who did talk to the Judiciary Committee at a "secret" meeting was later called before the Justice Department's Office of Legislative Affairs. After that incident, the department denied a promotion that this person had been expecting.

One of the three whistle-blowers, who described himself as "a former senior Meese associate," said that the Office of Legislative Affairs found out about this confidential meeting with the Judiciary Committee investigators because there was "either a leak on the committee or the phones were tapped."

"They wire tap in there and they bug offices," said another of the sources, who is active in the Republican Party. The source claims he left the Justice Department because he couldn't stand working with "corrupt" people.

"You can't fight the system. They are the biggest law firm in the world," said the current Justice Department official. "You better believe I'm threatened. You just don't cross them. If you cross them they will swat you and wipe you out for good, careerwise."

"A person can literally be destroyed by lies and slander," said the official. "The Justice Department manages to keep the lid on things with fear and intimidation and terror. If you are one of their people, they look out for you. They can highlight the lies and ignore the truth. They can make the unreal real and the false true. They can always find something."

Spite and malice: All three whistle-blowers told me about the case of a man who they claim is being harassed. For his own security, they asked that he not be identified.



Steffie Woolhandler and David Himmelstein: Duo-ing doctors

By Sonia Shah

Calling the American health industry a "non-system" and suggesting on national television that the private health-insurance industry dismantle itself for the good of everyone is business as usual for Dr. David Himmelstein.

Himmelstein and his colleague and mate of 12 years, Dr. Steffie Woolhandler, are the truth-speaking noisemakers sitting atop a newly emerged physicians movement that is calling for a national health-care program in this country. In 1986, the two Boston doctors released a health-care manifesto and they founded Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP). With several much-heralded articles in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and the *New England Journal of Medicine*, they lambasted the insurance industry and the Bush administration. PNHP now boasts more than 4,000 member physicians and, with a budget of just over \$100,000, has taken on the powerful American Medical Association (AMA) and the private health-insurance industry with aplomb.

Suddenly, it seems, health care has risen to the top of the domestic agenda as the election issue for 1992. But behind the scenes, Himmelstein and Woolhandler say, resentment has been seething for a long time—and their organization has been tapping into that feeling and doing the legwork necessary to harness it. "Conservatively," says Dr. Quentin Young, president of PNHP, "we are in a position to grow to 15,000 or 20,000 doctors strong."

Under Himmelstein and Woolhandler's PNHP proposal, all Americans would be covered for necessary medical care by a public insurance plan administered by state and regional boards. Patients, using a card entitling them to care at any hospital or doctor's office, would not be billed for any approved medical care; they would not pay deductibles, copayments or any other costs. The Government Accounting Office reviewed their plan and

concluded that it could cover all of the 35 million Americans who are currently uninsured and do away with copayments and deductibles for the insured—all the while, holding health costs at \$3 billion less than is now spent.

Since Himmelstein and Woolhandler released their manifesto on why the nation needs a national health plan and how to set one up, they have been in the limelight. They have addressed the Democratic Governors' Association and the League of Women Voters. And they have advised Democratic presidential nominees Jerry Brown, Bob Kerrey, Tom Harkin and Bill Clinton.

At this point, Woolhandler says, "The best of the bunch is Jerry Brown." The former California governor endorses the PNHP proposal, but, she adds, "unfortunately, he is a little short on details." According to Woolhandler, the plans espoused by Kerrey, Clinton and Tsongas are equally mediocre. Kerrey's plan covers everyone but hands tax dollars for care over to private health insurers. Clinton's employment-based plan encourages a managed-care system that denies patients choice of physicians and, as far as cost containment, is a "pretty questionable method." Tsongas' employment-based plan is even more coercive, "forcing everyone but the wealthy to join" a managed-care provider. But worst of all is the self-professed populist: According to Woolhandler, Harkin has not articulated a plan at all. (See *In These Times*, Feb. 19.)

To your health: Himmelstein and Woolhandler's plan has been attacked as simplistic. It "exudes naivete," complained the *Boston Globe's* Alex Beam, who alluded to the problem of putting 1,500 private insurance companies out of business as "politically thorny." But that very simplicity—bolstered by Himmelstein and Woolhandler's investigative primary research exposing the wastes of the current health-care system—makes it a plan that wields a potent moral and political force. Besides, Himmelstein and Woolhandler are not just "the usual pub-



lic-policy flapjaws pushing another socialized health-care scheme; [they] are doctors," notes one columnist. They simply contend most physicians are sick of the bureaucratic burdens of the current system that impede their work. According to Himmelstein, most physicians support some form of national health program, "although 74 percent are convinced that most other doctors oppose it." Organizing physicians to trumpet national health care is thus not only possible but expedient. After all, "doctors are in a unique position of leverage," says Himmelstein.

Given the double-edged sword of medical corporatization on one side and overburdened public health care on the other, it is almost miraculous that young physicians such as Himmelstein and Woolhandler could find the time, commitment and political imagination to organize for change. Himmelstein and Woolhandler can credit three sources for their motivation: their political heritage, the moral certainty of their vision and their partnership.

Red diaper: Himmelstein, a ponytailed and bearded 41-year-old, was born of two leftist physicians in New York City. At McGill University and Bennington College in Vermont, where he studied economics, he was active in the civil rights and anti-war movements. "I've been on the left since I was 16. In grade school, I started anti-bomb protests," he says, cocking his head with a half grin. "My mother was in the Communist Party. She's a rebel psychiatrist."

After a stint as a lab assistant in a hospital in New York, Himmelstein went to Columbia medical school for his M.D. Medicine, he says, "seemed like a reasonably good job that vaguely helped people." Since then, he has practiced medicine at city hospitals on both coasts, before getting a fellowship at Harvard. "There was this liberal corner of Harvard that was very supportive. No one else was very interested in having me around," he says. "Basically, we've been tolerated until this year. Most people considered us and national health as so completely unimaginable. We were crazy people who were not part of the mainstream. No one was thinking seriously about reform. Our work was viewed as a bizarre oddity."

Woolhandler, a reed-like 40-year-old with long

frizzy brown hair and a wide smile, grew up in Shreveport, La. She, like Himmelstein, boasts a leftist background and a solidly progressive resume. Unlike Himmelstein, however, her biographical information is offered humbly.

She attended Louisiana State University Medical School, moving on to practice medicine at public institutions such as San Francisco General Hospital and California's Santa Rosa Prison. She earned a masters in public health from the University of California at Berkeley and taught public health for a few years.

But her interest in national health predated her interest in medicine. In a lilting Southern voice, she says, "My interest in national health care came from trying to address the health of the poor in the existing system. There was no way to do that within the context of the present system. This was obvious real early on in medical school. You don't have to be terribly astute to realize health care in this country is in crisis."

Himmelstein and Woolhandler, with their birkenstocks, bookshelves crammed with Marxist theory and modest Cambridge home, embody the concept of "think globally, act locally." Both practice medicine at Cambridge City Hospital—"the one city hospital that wants to work with minorities and the oppressed," he says—teach at Harvard Medical School and organize around health-care issues.

"Social change without seeing patients would be abstract. You need to participate in the system to talk about it," Himmelstein says. "People shouldn't be allowed to talk about policy if they aren't involved in the system." PNHP prides itself on having a member physician in every community where the health-care issue is being debated.

In their home, videotapes of their congressional performances and framed Black Panther posters reflect their pride in their leftist heritage, and likewise their eagerness to resurrect it via health care. "The left focuses on the state and state ideology," says Himmelstein. "Our direct experience taught that we needed to solve people's everyday problems of living. A lot of the left was focused on foreign policy and militarism, which is important but can't serve as the basis without focus on domestic issues, the everyday lives of Americans."

Catalyst: Health care, they say, is the perfect issue that can jump-start a left that is increasingly out of touch. "There's this sense that the left is minoritarian," says Himmelstein. "And that our role is to champion the downtrodden [and not the majority]. But we should target the ruling elite. Health care is a good clear issue on this. The country divides in a very clear way." Yet "you can't have an academic career if you say this stuff. Harvard is a franchise operation. You get a license to hunt for grants. We couldn't get any, so we lived off our practice income." And at a city hospital, that is nothing approaching the grandiose incomes of some private practices.

The most lasting impression of these two revolutionaries is the tranquility they exude amid their hectic lives. They each work three jobs. They have two kids, Katie, 4, and Gracie, 1. And they are frequently interrupted by calls from radio stations.

Do they ever disagree about their work? He turns to her, frowning. "Do we ever disagree?" he asks. She explains, "We have been together for 12 years. We've hammered things out by now."

Himmelstein and Woolhandler are set for the long haul. "We view ourselves not as those who will win or lose the election for someone but as a force that speaks the truth about health policy and offers a clear evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of proposals," says Himmelstein. "We are not interested in making bargains. We won't compromise or endorse candidates. We want to be critics."

Sonia Shah is managing editor of *Nuclear Times* magazine.

Two of the three whistle-blowers say this Justice Department employee has firsthand knowledge about the Inslaw files that were allegedly transferred from the Justice Department to the CIA. They further allege that this employee personally shredded sensitive files, including some dealing with Inslaw. "I know they disappeared," said the current Justice official. "The only way [investigators] can ever prove anything is with documents."

According to the three sources, this Justice Department employee allegedly has suffered several acts of harassment. Erroneous and negative data was fed into his personal credit report, the locks on the Justice Department doors were suddenly changed, and most recently, his superiors have alleged that he is mentally unstable.

This employee's problems allegedly first began when he discovered that information about a default on a loan he had never taken out had made its way onto his personal credit report. A bad credit rating can endanger a government employee's security clearance. "It gives the appearance that something is really wrong with you," said the current Justice official. "Your career can be destroyed for life."

According to the whistle-blowers, one day this Justice Department employee arrived for work only to find that the locks on his office had been changed. Upon discovering this situation, the Justice employee suffered a heart attack and almost died.

Subsequently he was moved down the street to a small room that one of the whistle-blowers described as a closet. At the time, his mother was lying in a hospital, comatose and dying. Because he did not have a phone in his new closet-office, the hospital had trouble reaching him for authorization for her medical treatment. The employee's wife wrote Barbara Bush, who then intervened and made the department install a telephone.

Currently the employee fears losing his job and his family health-insurance coverage. His wife has cancer. Last month, on the day when his wife entered an intensive care unit, the employee was ordered by his superior to undergo a psychiatric examination at the CIA. The employee refused CIA "treatment," choosing instead to spend several thousand dollars of his own money on a battery of psychological tests by non-government doctors to prove that he was neither insane nor hallucinating.

The former senior Meese associate described the department's accusations that the employee is "crazy" as "just absurd." "That's a new ploy," he said. "They set up an individual with a CIA doctor and they say he is not wrapped too tight." All three whistle-blowers made bitter comparisons to the former Soviet Union's psychiatric gulags. As the Meese associate put it: "Our values and principles have changed dramatically in the last 20 years. I've been in the intelligence and security business for 24 years and I see more Communist activity in the Justice Department security office than I have seen in the Communists' KGB."

Sources say the employee expects to be out on the street any day. He is reported to have said, "What happened to me is not unique. I know they may whip me, but they will have to fight me every step of the way." As *In These Times* went to press, the employee was scheduled to meet with federal investigators on February 22 to tell them what he knows.

Who, just us? According to the whistle-blowers, the alleged corruption at the Justice Department is being orchestrated by two men in the department's administrative services arm, the Justice Management Division. They are Anthony Muscato, who is currently deputy assistant attorney general for administration, and his subordinate, Jerry Rubino, who is director of the department's Office of Security and Emergency Preparedness.

Rubino came to the department from the CIA, where he had served as chief file clerk in the CIA's Office of Security. It is allegedly Rubino who carried out the day-to-day harassment of the above mentioned Justice employee. According to the former senior Meese Associate, Rubino has established "his own Czarism" in the intelligence community. "[Former FBI Director J. Edgar] Hoover is not dead," said the former Meese associate. "He is just renamed Jerry Rubino."

From 1979 to 1983, Muscato was the director of the Justice Department's Procurement, Services and Property Management office. According to Inslaw owner Bill Hamilton, it was from this office that the Justice Department "maliciously administrated our contract."

Said one of the whistle-blowers, "Muscato certainly knows all about [the Inslaw case], there is no question. He is the one who told everybody what to do."

More recently, former Attorney General Richard Thornburgh appointed Muscato as the Justice Department's acting inspector general—a watch-dog position that was established by Congress over the protests of both Meese and Thornburgh. As acting inspector general, Muscato directed and was personally involved in the department's internal Inslaw investigation. Not surprisingly, Muscato discovered no evidence of wrongdoing.

More surprises

On February 24 *Time* magazine finally ripped the veil off one of the most important covert operations of the '80s. *Time* described how a "clandestine campaign" masterminded by late-CIA Director William Casey, had advanced the political fortunes of former President Ronald Reagan. When contacted by *Time*, former Reagan National Security Council Adviser Richard Allen admitted, "This was one of the great secret alliances of all time."

No, *Time* hadn't pressed Allen to divulge the secrets of the October Surprise, the 1980 Reagan campaign's alleged effort to delay the release of American hostages held in Iran. Actually, the nation's largest newsweekly had uncovered the White House's attempt during the '80s to clandestinely assist Poland's outlawed Solidarity union, thereby hastening the Eastern bloc's collapse.

Allen and other Reagan administration officials recalled the operation in remarkable detail for *Time*. Even Reagan, notorious for his porous memory, vividly recalled meetings with Pope John Paul II where the operation was discussed. "We both felt a great mistake had been made at Yalta [the postwar conference dividing Europe between the Soviets and the U.S.] and something should be done," Reagan said.

Unfortunately, Carl Bernstein, who penned the *Time* exposé, didn't wade into the murkier waters of the October Surprise. That subject has induced spasmodic responses from more than one former administration official, including Allen, who headed the 1980 Reagan campaign's October Surprise Group.

Allen has admitted attending an Oct. 2, 1980, meeting at a Washington, D.C. hotel with a man who said he represented the Iranian government. Allen has also admitted that the man offered to broker a hostage deal between the Reagan campaign and the Iranian government. But when PBS's *Frontline* asked Allen last year for the man's name, Allen said he couldn't remember. Allen noted that he'd saved meeting notes containing the man's name, but said he'd misplaced them. "Eventually I'll be able to find the memorandum I wrote on this meeting," Allen said, "but I haven't been able to find it yet."

The Pentagon's bad vibes in Clam Lake

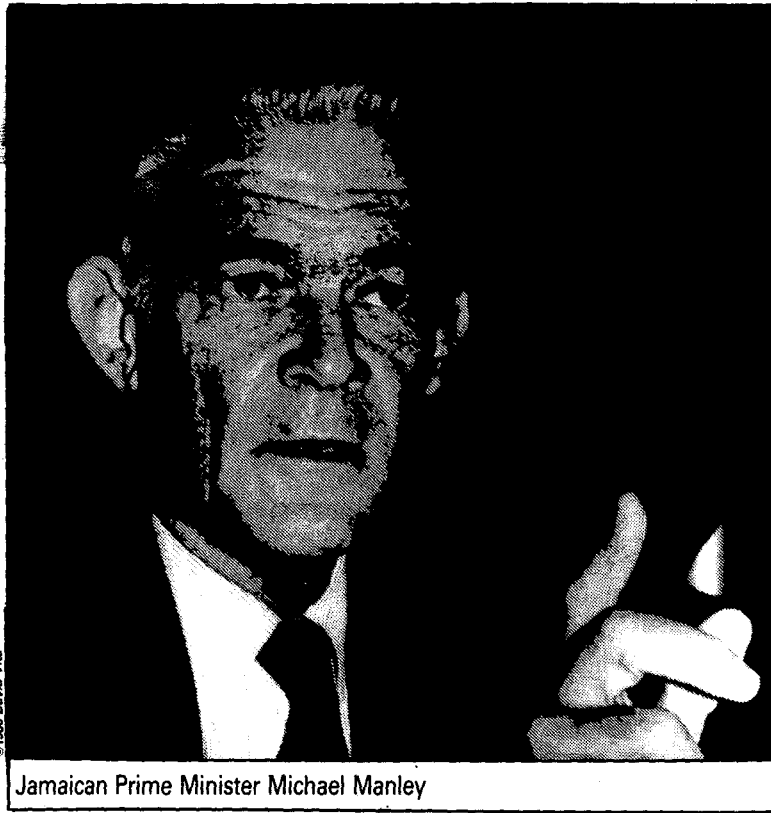
Don't tell the residents of Clam Lake, Wis., that the Cold War is over. Believe it or not, Clam Lake—located just down the road from Namekagon and around the bend from Butternut and High Bridge—is a key link in the U.S. nuclear arsenal. An important U.S. Navy communication facility sits in the Chequamegon National Forest near the town. From this facility, the U.S. military transmits extremely low frequency (ELF) messages to its strategic nuclear submarines. These ELF transmissions—which allow such subs to receive messages underwater, without putting an antenna on the surface—have been vital to U.S. Cold War strategy because they give the subs "first-strike" capability in case of a nuclear war. Now that the Cold War is over, a lot of Clam Lake residents are wondering why the U.S. military still wants first-strike capability when there's no enemy at which to strike. The Wisconsinites have additional reason to worry: the ELF transmissions give off high amounts of electromagnetic radiation, which studies link to leukemia and other cancers. This month 17 protesters were arrested in a non-violent demonstration at the ELF facility—organizers have planned more actions for the spring.

Scout's dishonor

On February 10, Massachusetts Gov. William Weld signed an executive order establishing a commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth. The commission will advise Weld, a Republican, and three of his cabinet members on the creation of programs that address the special needs of gay youth. "The unfortunate reality is that nearly 30 percent of youth suicides are committed by gay and lesbian youth," Weld said. "Incidents of harassment, violence and discrimination against young people because of their sexual preference are all too common."

Weld's point was soon proven in California, when leaders of six Bay Area Boy Scout councils refused to accept a local charity's recommendation that homosexual scouts or leaders be admitted into local troops. The United Way of the Bay Area, which gave \$849,000 to the Boy Scouts this year, had recommended that the Boy Scouts either change its national policy excluding homosexuals or begin a pilot program accepting gay members in Bay Area councils. Quentin Alexander, a scout executive from Contra Costa County, said that choosing either United Way option "meant that the Boy Scouts were going to have to change the basic value system—which really was no option at all."

INSHORT



Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley

Jamaica's free-market tempest

ST. ELIZABETH, JAMAICA—For the average Jamaican, financial reforms drawn up by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and implemented by Prime Minister Michael Manley have struck with the blind fury of a latter-day Hurricane Gilbert.

Manley, who attempted to restructure Jamaica along socialist lines during his first two terms as prime minister from 1972-1980, has taken a strikingly different approach since being re-elected in 1989. He now publicly avows, as he wrote in a 1990 *Wall Street Journal* article, that "private sectors operating in market conditions provide the best means to economic growth and development." But the erstwhile socialist has yet to prove his case.

The devaluation of the Jamaican dollar is the most apparent of a still-secret package agreed to by the Jamaican government in return for debt rescheduling and continued access to credit from overseas. Two years ago, the Jamaican dollar was pegged at an exchange rate of about 5.5 to the American greenback. Exchange rates were allowed to float in September of 1990, and by mid-November 1991, the official rate had dropped to 18 to the U.S. dollar. It is slipping daily. In the meantime, wages have barely gone up, if at all.

When asked about the state of the economy, Jamaicans recite a litany of prices for food that have doubled or tripled within a matter of months as most food subsidies ended. Prices of other consumer goods, which have also skyrocketed, were given an added boost by a 10 percent general consumption tax imposed last fall. Most Jamaicans express bewilderment at the turn of events and a sense of betrayal at the hands of the

prime minister they elected in 1989.

Recent history gives them reason to be discouraged. Under Manley's administration in the '70s, the government played an active role in the economy and extended the range of public services. A Reagan-backed free-enterprise policy was implemented by the succeeding 1980-89 administration of Edward Seaga. Both the efforts of the charismatic leader, who called for tearing down capitalism brick by brick, and of the apostle of Third World Reaganomics are now judged to be failures. And it was under Seaga that the country's foreign debt ballooned—from about \$1.8 billion when Manley left office in 1980 to about \$4.5 billion by the end of the decade.

Current policy is oriented above all else to grappling with this debt—not surprisingly, as policy is set by the IMF.

If all goes according to plan, a devalued Jamaican dollar, loosened banking regulation and elimination of currency-exchange restrictions will help attract hard currency from abroad and pull local money out of informal or illegal circulation and into the official banking system, enabling Jamaica to service its debt.

Once Jamaica has at least gained control of its burgeoning arrears and won a place in the good graces of world bankers and European and United States governments, Manley is counting on the entrepreneurial genius of the Jamaican people to spread the economic gains to the grass roots. There is some validity to this reasoning. Jamaicans do not lack in ambition or entrepreneurial zeal. Thanks in large measure to social achievements under the first Manley administration, Jamaicans are well educated and literate in comparison with the rest of the world, and from the middle classes to the poorest there is a strong egalitarian sense of individual and national worth.

The concept of relying on small-scale capitalism and the so-called informal sector has come into fashion among experts in Third World economic development. If it can work anywhere, it should work in Jamaica.

But there is a long line of hurdles ahead. Recession in the U.S. does not bode well for the increased tourism that is being counted on. So far, balance of payments reports indicate it has not materialized. Neither has a gold rush of foreign investment, despite a hard-sell marketing campaign under the slogan "Jamaica Open for Business." Some exports are prospering. But overall worldwide prices for primary commodities, which entered a long-term decline in the '80s, show no signs of recovering. Reliance on unprocessed or semi-processed agricultural and mineral exports is the trap that closed in on Jamaica, as well as Latin American, African and South Asian economies, in the '80s. An oversupply of aluminum in the West and increased Soviet aluminum exports, for example, are chipping away at the price of bauxite, Jamaica's bread-and-butter mineral export.

Interest rates of close to 30 percent on certificates of deposit that are advertised in the newspapers should attract bank deposits, except that the dizzying pace of inflation discourages locking money up for three months or longer. High costs of loans, on the other hand, discourage starting up or expanding small-scale ventures.

Nevertheless, Manley feels that the downfall of his '70s economic policy was alienation of Jamaican, U.S. and international business and financial communities, and that, under current conditions, it is a mistake he cannot afford to repeat. One thing is certain—there is no Soviet bloc to turn to for assistance or use to lure in competing foreign aid from the West.

But what of alienating the laborers and farmers, Manley's traditional base of support? So far, the only sign of organized discontent was a November outbreak of wildcat strikes and marches by teachers protesting insufficient salary increases. Otherwise, public-opinion polls show that political apathy is spreading. And if domestic paybacks from current policies don't materialize soon, will apathy turn to anger? By way of answer, a young Jamaican auto mechanic and freelance taxi driver shrugs his shoulders and says, "Any game can play." Then he turns his attention to nursing his patched-up Lada—a durable compact car imported from the Soviet Union years ago when the world was a very different place—across the potholes that are taking over the road ahead. He needs to be careful with this car, because it's going to be a long time before he can buy another.

—Tim Wall

©Tim Wall

Vladimir Klimenko

MOSCOW

WITH THE USSR'S CORPSE STILL WARM IN its grave, the empire's defenders decided to strike back. In early February, Moscow's "Rossiya" movie theater itself became the focus of a spectacle when approximately 1,000 politicians and activists swarmed into its carpeted lobby for a grand patriotic revival. Dozens of men dressed in homemade Cossack outfits and czarist military tunics strutted through the aisles in a bizarre throwback to the 1918-'20 civil war period.

Meanwhile, closer to the stage, black-shirted members of the quasi-fascist group "Ramyat" rushed the podium in a futile attempt to steal the show. The black-shirts failed to grab the microphone but succeeded in attracting the spotlight of the TV news teams on hand.

Waiting in the wings: Welcome to the Russian People's Assembly, a restless new coalition of right-wing nationalists who hope to fill the ideological void left by bureaucratic socialism's collapse. Their message—known as "the Russian idea"—promotes a strong state, authoritarian rule and the country's unique historical destiny as the source of the world's spiritual salvation.

Although still a hodgepodge of self-styled Cossack caudillos, military men and disgruntled apparatchiks, this current is quickly shaping into an organized movement.

"This will become a very influential organization," predicts Viktor Aksiuchets, the

Although still a hodgepodge of Cossack caudillos and disgruntled apparatchiks, this current is quickly shaping into an organized movement.

movement's leader and a member of Russia's parliament. "Patriotic ideals are the only force that can sweep away today's atmosphere of political apathy."

The man has a point. Today's mounting economic chaos could bring down Boris Yeltsin's democratic allies just as surely as the botched August coup finished off the Communist Party. Such an outcome would leave the political field open to the only ideology that has not seen its day since the fall of the Romanov dynasty: Russian nationalism.

This idea was echoed by none other than Vice President Alexander Rutskoi, who made a special appearance at the assembly's recent convention. An open admirer of right-wing views, Rutskoi blasted the country's leaders for shunning nationalist ideology. "The government is unable to provide people with a new idea that would enable them to live through difficult times," he said.

Of course, there's more than a bit of irony in hearing a growing chorus of right-wing opinion in what used to be the world's bastion of Marxism-Leninism. Despite the obvious contradictions between the two world-views, today's Russian chauvinism is in many ways a logical successor to the bureaucratic socialist model, just as Stalinism inherited and further developed many of czarism's worst legacies.



Right-wing Russian "patriots" could topple President Boris Yeltsin.

Will Russian revival lead to an authoritarian relapse?

The essential components are still fresh in people's memories: state-worship, militarism, centralization and a Messianic ideology. Once those values are accepted, the question of whether one is a White or a Red becomes quite secondary.

The big switch: The rise of right-wing patriotism has once again rearranged political labels in Russia. Three generations' worth of official Soviet rhetoric gave "the left" a positive, progressive connotation. Soviet reformers accepted this definition and called themselves "the left," something that dismayed the party's orthodox wing to no end.

Unlike hard-line Communists (with whom they share many views), the new Russian patriots don't mind being dubbed "rightists." In fact, politicians such as Aksiuchets relish

tarring their democratic opponents, many of whom were reform Communists and now adhere to social democratic views, with the "left-wing" label.

Thus, when speaking of reformers' attempts to encourage decentralization, Aksiuchets said that "the left-radical forces are doing everything in their power to destroy the state."

In so doing, right-wing leaders equate Russia's fragile democratic experiment with administrative chaos, ethnic strife, falling living standards and military impotence.

Political freedom can therefore become an expendable commodity. In the words of Mikhail Astafiev, a co-founder of the Russian People's Assembly, "Democracy is a means. The goal is a rich and powerful state."

Together with Rutskoi and Astafiev, Ak-

siuchets makes the classic conservative argument against reform: Progressives' penchant for change harms state interests and institutions—first and foremost, the army. Nothing stirs up the right wing's blood more than talk about dividing up the former Soviet military.

"The unified armed forces must be preserved," Aksiuchets is fond of saying. "Otherwise, the splits within the armed forces along republican lines today will turn into the battle lines of tomorrow's interrepublican wars."

Big precedents: It's more than empty rhetoric. The past few years of turmoil in the Soviet Union have shown that, political leanings notwithstanding, such dire warnings have a way of coming true.

The undeniable reality behind much of what the right wing says guarantees this movement an ample hearing in the months ahead. Most observers believe that an upsurge in Russian nationalist feeling is inevitable. The question is, will it necessarily lead to an authoritarian relapse?

The right wing confidently believes that it will. "Don't worry, the statist current has always won out in Russian political life," says Nikolai Pavlov, a hard-line nationalist politician. "This time it'll win, too."

People on the left disagree. "A reinvigorated Russian consciousness can be a positive force," says Mikhail Shevelyov, an ethnic conflict expert at the liberal weekly *Moscow News*. "The main thing is to ensure that this legitimate need for ethnic pride doesn't get manipulated by people who want to derail the reforms."

Sergei Stankevich, a prominent young liberal politician, agrees. Stankevich says that the Russian revival "holds a vast creative potential," one that "might elevate us above the poverty and uncertainty of our daily existence."

"A great deal depends on the people's instinct of self-preservation and their common sense, as well as on their ability to distinguish between truth and lies."

He adds, "I trust our citizens have become much wiser in the last five or six years." □

Vladimir Klimenko is an *In These Times* correspondent in Moscow.

AND ON THE EIGHTH DAY, WE BULLDOZED IT.



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By John B. Judis

MANCHESTER, N.H.

IF THE DEMOCRATS TAKE THIS YEAR'S NEW HAMPSHIRE primary as a gauge of their prospects in November, they have reason to rejoice but also to fear. Since the state began holding primaries in 1952, whenever an incumbent has been seriously challenged, he or his anointed successor have been defeated in November. This occurred in 1968, 1976 and 1980. Equally, whenever an incumbent or his successor has had to run for re-election during a recession, he has lost.

By these measures, the primary was an ill omen for George Bush, who, in the midst of recession, failed to vanquish television commentator Pat Buchanan—a man with less apparent qualifications to be president than Larry Agran.

For Bush to lose, however, a Democrat has to win, and the Democratic front-runners in New Hampshire—former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton—will be hampered by their lack of national leadership experience. While their stature will rise during the primaries (as Gov. Michael Dukakis' did in 1988) it will diminish once it is compared to an incumbent president's. In addition, Clinton, the more likely nominee, carries personal disabilities—courtesy of the tabloid press and his draft board—that could distract voters in the fall from focusing on Bush's inability to stem American economic decline.

Yet the election can also be viewed as foreshadowing longer-term trends in American politics. Whatever happens in November, the Republican coalition that began to fray in the 1988 primaries has finally come undone. Buchanan's candidacy reflects the profound differences among conservatives and Republicans over how to proceed in the post-Cold War world.

By contrast, the Democrats, deeply divided since 1968, appear to be cohering around a new post-New Deal liberalism that stresses active intervention to spur economic growth. Even if the Democrats fail to find an adequate messenger in November 1992, another Democrat bearing a similar message is likely to succeed in 1996.

Bush as Dewey: Bush's election strategy, devised in the wake of Buchanan's candidacy, was modeled on Harry Truman's 1948 campaign. That year, Truman was challenged by Progressive Party candidate Wallace on the left and Republican Thomas Dewey on the right. Truman ignored Wallace, while coopting his followers and rebuilding his majority by engaging in a year-long struggle with the Republican Congress over the "Fair Deal."

In New Hampshire, Bush studiously ignored Buchanan—not once mentioning his name—while running on his war record and against the Democratic Congress. He trumpeted the economic program announced in his State of the Union address and called on New Hampshire voters to "send the liberal Democrat Congress a message" by voting for him. But the analogy with Truman did not hold.

Most obviously, Bush's economic program has not measured up to Truman's Fair Deal. While Truman advanced far-reaching initiatives on national health insurance, aid to education, housing and civil rights, Bush introduced a pale amalgam of recycled Reaganomics, the centerpiece of which is a



Buchanan divides the Republicans; can the Democrats conquer Bush?

capital gains tax cut targeted at the wealthy. He included tax cuts for the middle class in his State of the Union address, but withdrew them from the Republican proposal presented to the House Ways and Means Committee, provoking cries of betrayal from Buchanan and the Democrats.

Buchanan also represented a far more portentous presidential challenge than Wallace. Wallace tried to revive the pro-Soviet Popular Front that had been active in the late

state's conservative militants, led by *The Union Leader*. Bush couldn't even get Republican students from the University of New Hampshire to man his headquarters or attend his rallies. He was forced to bus in college Republicans from neighboring Ivy League colleges.

Buchanan as Taft: Buchanan remains one of the truly original figures in American politics—a brutal, gut fighter who quotes *Troilus and Cressida*, a personally pleasant and humorous man who in his public life seethes with ethnic resentments. Unlike Bush, he is also extremely conscious of his place in conservative and Republican history.

In New Hampshire, Buchanan labored to create a synthesis of old and new conservatism. He borrowed his slogan of America First from the Taft isolationists of 1941, but he attempted to adapt it to a new era of American industrial decline, calling not only for the cessation of foreign aid, but also for the erection of tariffs on low-wage imports. Buchanan's attacks on Bush's trade policies echoed those of Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin and Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey.

As Buchanan toured New Hampshire, he was also forced to adapt his message to the utterly novel spectacle of unemployed Republicans who lacked health insurance and were on the verge of losing their homes through bank foreclosures. Buchanan backed an extension of unemployment benefits and began to hint that he could support some kind of national health insurance. "We have to guarantee a floor of decency for every American," he proclaimed at a tribute to Ronald Reagan in Manchester on February 8.

But Buchanan also espoused a simple-minded Reaganite opposition to "big government"—to any taxes, regulation and spending. "The philosophy of big government is being tried and applied by both parties, and it is failing the country and this state," he declared in Hampton on February 9. "We have only one alternative, and that is back to the

freedom road." When pressed on the eve of the primary to present his own program, Buchanan fell back on stock Reaganism, proposing a freeze on spending and regulations—measures that would be difficult to reconcile with guaranteeing a "floor of decency."

Buchanan retreated to Reaganism partly because he still believes it and partly because his polling showed that it still resonated with New Hampshire Republicans. As his campaign moves South and West, he will continue to emphasize whatever issue shows the most promise of splitting Bush's Republican vote—textiles and racial quotas in South Carolina, immigration in Texas. Bush will face the unhappy choice of attacking Buchanan and potentially losing his followers in the general election or appeasing him and risking defections from Republican moderates and independents. Bush may rescue his candidacy, but he will not be able to preserve a viable Republican majority.

Democratic breakdown: The Democrats suffered their train wreck 24 years ago when Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy challenged Hubert Humphrey from the left for the nomination and Richard Nixon and George Wallace challenged him from the right in the general election. Over the next two decades, Democrats were crippled by the divisions that emerged over the Vietnam War, civil rights, social policy and taxes, but there are now signs that a recovery is imminent. Both Democratic front-runners—Tsongas and Clinton—are products of an effort to create new Democratic economic policy and politics that transcend the failures of the past.

The Democrats failed because they continued to adhere to an economic program that had proved successful from 1932 through 1968, but that had become dangerously obsolete. This program relied on expanded government spending and deficits to ensure prosperity and to mitigate poverty and unemployment. It worked as long as American capitalism reigned supreme, but when foreign

ELECTION '92

'30s—a vain attempt in the midst of the Cold War. Buchanan's candidacy reflected deep fissures within the Republican Party opened up by the Cold War's end and America's economic decline. Republicans are as deeply divided today over taxes, regulation, civil rights, balanced budgets, immigration, foreign aid and free trade as the Democrats were once divided over the Vietnam War and civil rights.

In Republican history, Bush's situation in 1992 is far more similar to that of New York nominee Thomas Dewey in 1948, who had to fight off a challenge from the right from Ohio Sen. Robert Taft, than it is to Truman. If you cross the aisle, his situation is similar to that of Hubert Humphrey in 1968, when he ran at the head of a deeply divided party.

As president, Bush has tried to maintain his majority coalition of upper-income and often politically moderate Republicans, descended from Dewey, and hard-right conservatives who licked envelopes for Ronald Reagan, but his failure to secure a strong majority in New Hampshire—after having made a more extensive effort in that primary than any previous incumbent—shows how unsuccessful Bush has been.

In New Hampshire, Buchanan split the Republican Party, leaving Bush, whom he called "King George," with the small rump of Yankee Republicans, while monopolizing the

rivals began producing better products for less, American consumers began using their added income from deficits to buy imports and American firms began using tax subsidies to move their plants overseas or to invest in real estate. Federal spending became the cause as well as the cure of economic ills.

Worse still, federal welfare spending—intended initially to aid the disabled and to bide workers over until they got a job—became the means of supporting a growing rural and urban underclass, rendered permanently unemployed by the disappearance of mining and urban manufacturing jobs. The creation of this underclass undermined Democrats' appeal to a broad middle class that included the poor and unemployed. Within the framework of the old economics, they had to choose between abandoning the poor or alienating the middle class.

In the '80s, Republicans exploited the breakdown of Democratic economics, convincing suburban independents and blue-collar ethnics to join their crusade against big government, high taxes and the welfare state. Reagan's and Bush's majorities were constructed out of the defection of these groups.

Encouraging growth: While a senator, Tsongas was one of the first Democratic politicians to recognize that New Deal economics had outlived its usefulness. In a 1980 speech before the Americans for Democratic Action and in a book titled *The Road from Here* that was published the next year, he argued that Democrats had to find ways not only to redistribute income, but to encourage economic growth. Otherwise, as the economy stagnated, they would find themselves torn between constituencies competing for scarce dollars.

Colorado Sen. Gary Hart made the same arguments in 1984, but the Democratic nominee that year, former Vice President Walter Mondale, and the 1988 nominee, Michael Dukakis, did not understand Tsongas' and Hart's ideas, even though as a governor, Dukakis had pioneered new kinds of government economic intervention. In 1988, Dukakis' main economic program was to tighten up income tax collection.

Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, has been thinking along similar lines, and this year he and Tsongas arrived at similar, though not identical, approaches to economic policy. They propose to attack the country's economic decline by expanding and changing government's role. They want government not merely to invest in public works and to fund welfare programs, but to steer private investment toward productive channels.

Tsongas likes to use the metaphor of investment as a river driven by self-interest that government has to channel. "My job as president is to figure out how to change the currents so that the river flows in the long-term channels," Tsongas said in a speech in Rochester on February 9. "We have to get the river to flow toward where the country will be better off."

Clinton and Tsongas don't seek to take over private industry or create new regulatory instruments, but rather to use market incentives to ensure that industry acts responsibly. They don't advocate expanding the size of government, but the scope of its responsibilities. Clinton wants to create tax penalties for firms that move jobs overseas or that give bonuses to executives and not to workers. Tsongas wants to change securities' laws so that CEOs are not penalized for investing their profits in research and development rather than distributing them to stockholders as dividends.

Both men can talk very specifically about their programs. Tsongas hands out copies of his 86-page manifesto, *An Economic Call to Arms*, at each campaign stop. At one appearance before a working-class audience in Rochester, an old shoe manufacturing town in Eastern New Hampshire, Tsongas gave a brilliant explanation of why it was important to change securities' laws to discourage corporate raiders. The audience loved it, flattered that a politician would not attempt to condense his message into sound bites.

Clinton is equally impressive. When asked about specific problems, he will sometimes astonish listeners with the novelty of his approach. At a February 11 meeting with the editors of the *Keene Sentinel*, when asked how he would use government to make the economy more competitive, he responded with an example of how government could encourage worker retraining.

"In America," he said, "we do spend a lot of money on worker retraining, about \$200 billion a year, but 70 percent goes to the upper tier of employees. Our competitors pay the money up and down the line because they know their bread and butter comes from the front-line workers. So I propose to develop a national continuous labor training policy, to give tax incentives to companies that spend money up and down the line on their employees, but if they spend less than one-and-a-half percent of payroll evenly distributed on training, they would have to pay the difference into a national fund that we would use to train the unemployed."

This type of approach speaks to popular fears that Democrats will merely "throw money at problems" and increase the size of government. At the same time, they commit the government not merely to creating equity, but to encouraging what Clinton and Tsongas call a "high wage, high growth" economy.

The forgotten middle class: While the two Democrats' economic philosophies are

Bush couldn't even attract Republican students from the University of New Hampshire to his rallies. He was forced to bus in college Republicans from Ivy League colleges.

similar, their political commitments are different. Politically, Clinton is a traditional Democrat, committed to restoring the New Deal majority that spanned the broader middle class, including the poor and unemployed. He is as comfortable talking to ghetto blacks as to Yuppie professionals.

His approach to what he calls the "forgotten middle class" is partly aimed at a specific group of middle-income voters. He backs (and Tsongas opposes) a tax cut that will primarily benefit Americans with incomes from \$35,000 to \$70,000 who were ignored by the Democratic-sponsored Tax Reform of 1986 that lowered taxes for the poor and the wealthy. But Clinton also aims to redefine and reunite the larger middle class through such programs as "pay or play" health insurance and a promise of college education in exchange for national service. His economic approach and his philosophy of government—stressing mutual responsibility of citizens and a new covenant between gov-

ernment and the people—are reminiscent of Theodore Roosevelt's progressivism.

Politically, Tsongas is far more of a liberal Republican—a worthy successor to former Rep. John Anderson (R-IL)—than a Democrat. He worries about whether a software developer can get venture capital rather than whether an unemployed textile worker can get a job—the success of the first, he argues, will eventually lead to success for the second. While Clinton backs the labor movement's bill to prevent companies from hiring permanent replacements for strikers, Tsongas opposes it. While Clinton is perfectly willing to blame American CEOs for the country's ills, Tsongas prefers to blame corporate perfidy on the imperfections of law and government. In the New Hampshire primary, Tsongas' support was directly proportional to voters' income.

Tsongas' critique of Democratic economics was an important milestone in the party's development, but unlike Clinton, he does not appear capable of curing Democrats' political ills—in particular, of regaining the allegiance of the Reagan Democrats who defected over social as well as economic policy. Clinton may not succeed because of the damage already done to his reputation, but he has the political and programmatic approach that could revive and sustain a Democratic majority.

Harkin as real Democrat: In the primary, Clinton and Tsongas' principal political adversary was Harkin. (Kerrey's problems lay in not having any clear political commitments except for national health insurance.) Harkin portrayed himself as a disciple of Truman and criticized his opponents for not being "real Democrats."

Harkin has admirable qualities as a politician. Of all the Democrats, he displayed the most empathy for the victims of the recession. Unlike Clinton or Tsongas, who have been absent from Washington politics, Harkin has a far better understanding of how hired lobbyists subvert American trade policy. And Harkin also understands that if the U.S. allows Japan and low-wage Third World countries to ravage domestic industries like textiles or steel, it cannot revive the inner cities or eliminate the underclass. Peasant immigrants from Latin America or blacks one generation removed from rural peonage will not find jobs as software developers in a "high-wage, high-growth" economy.

But in New Hampshire, Harkin failed abysmally to win support as a "real Democrat." According to the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* polls, Harkin even trailed Clinton and Tsongas among voters who lived in households where someone was unemployed. (According to the *Washington Post*, he also trailed them in union households.)

Harkin's failure was partly due to a bruising, mean-spirited campaign style that was reminiscent of Robert Dole when he ran as Gerald Ford's vice president in 1976. Most candidates try to undermine their opponents by having their staff pass damaging information to the press. But Harkin not only openly assailed his opponents in his speeches and ads, but in doing so distorted his record as well as their own. In his major ad, for instance, he charged that Clinton, Kerrey and Tsongas were "for tax breaks for the rich."

Like Harkin himself, Clinton and Kerrey both favored tax breaks aimed at stimulating business investment. And unlike him, they specifically backed a tax cut for the middle class that would be financed through raising taxes on the wealthy. Harkin was even quick to exploit Clinton's personal problems—re-

ferring to the *Star* stories in a national TV interview. This kind of behavior earned Harkin the enmity not only of candidates and the press, but of many voters. While he was admired by his supporters, he was despised by virtually everyone else.

But Harkin's failure was at least equally due to his dogged defense of old Democratic economics. While favoring massive government expenditures on public works, Harkin rejected Tsongas' and Clinton's strategies of steering the economy. In an interview with National Public Radio a week before the primary, he explained that he wanted to "set the table" for growth by spending more on public works and then "let the private sector take over."

Harkin also constantly conjured the stereotype of the Democrat throwing money at problems. Asked in the final debate February 16 about how he would deal with urban problems, Harkin promised that after cutting \$400 billion from the defense budget, he "would take \$280 billion into a fund and it's going to go right into a fund to rebuild the cities." Harkin did not say what he would have the cities do with the money or how he would prevent it from being squandered.

His economics, like Bush's politics, rested on a faulty historical analogy. In his speeches, the Iowan repeatedly compared the situation of the U.S. after World War II to the situation today. In 1946, he explained, the country also faced an enormous deficit and potentially high unemployment, but Truman had rescued the economy through the G.I. Bill and a federal highway program. The same strategy could be used now, he argued.

But after World War II, American industry had no peers, and its only problem was creating demand for its product. Now industry needs more than demand; it has to make better products at lower cost than its rivals. To do this, it needs not only government money but steering.

Coming realignment: Harkin's failure in New Hampshire and the success of Buchanan, Clinton and Tsongas revealed how profoundly American politics are being transformed. Labels no longer make much sense. In the Republican primary, Buchanan, running as a right-wing conservative, criticized Bush for failing to extend unemployment benefits and for adhering to free trade. Harkin, claiming to be the "real Democrat," rejected Clinton's and Tsongas' attempts not merely to stimulate but to steer the private sector.

Commentators were predictably confused. NBC's John Chancellor declared that Tsongas' economics were to the right of all other candidates, even Buchanan's. And New Hampshire activists didn't know what they were getting into. Conservatives were excited by Buchanan's evocations of the Reaganite past, but uneasy about his call for protecting American industry. Left-wing activists, addled by their own version of nostalgia, flocked to closet reactionary Jerry Brown, the advocate of a flat tax, and to Ralph Nader's anti-politics crusade.

By 1996—regardless of whether Bush wins in November—not only will political labels be different, but so will the coalitions that dominated politics during the '70s and '80s. Republicans, who once boasted of a coming conservative realignment, will now have to worry about a liberal one. They are going to lose their national majority. The question is whether Democrats will be able to regain theirs. In the process, New Hampshire, the most rock-ribbed Republican state, might become as predictably Democratic as Massachusetts.

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Democrats

Continued from page 3

realistic policies to manage trade, and strategic planning to make the U.S. a technological and environmental leader. It could also be a time to expand Social Security to

include comprehensive national health insurance. But the Democrats, with some exceptions, still are inclined to timid, ineffectual tinkering—a few adjustments to a bankrupt private health insurance system, an assortment of narrow-gauge tax breaks.

Taking a piece here, a piece there, one

could construct out of the Democratic candidates and their platforms a reasonable candidacy—Kerrey's health insurance, Harkin's infrastructure investment, Clinton's education proposals, Tsongas' emphasis on manufacturing, Brown's environmental positions. Add to that a healthy dose of populist

identification with the average American, along with attacks on a greedy and irresponsible elite, and professions of belief in democracy, in hard work and in a new spirit of community.

With Bush in disfavor, there is clearly potential to unite both the core of the Democrats and a large bloc of independents and lapsed Democrats-turned-Republicans in both the South and the North.

Yet Black argues that Democrats can win in the South, even on economic and health issues, only if their candidate first passes "the test of sharing some basic values. Most Democratic candidates haven't gotten past that barrier." Tragically, many of those Southern Democratic "basic values" are the antithesis of ideas held by other core Democratic groups—organized labor, feminists, gays, blacks, civil libertarians, anti-militarists.

An opening: Bush triumphed in 1988 partly by capitalizing on divisions over social values. He could well do so again. Certainly Pat Buchanan's showing in New Hampshire will push Bush to the right. Such a move in theory opens more political terrain for a Democratic candidacy that attempts to contain the battles over deeply contradictory social values within its own coalition by creating an overriding sense of unity on the economy and health care.

It will not be easy. If the field of candidates remains muddled, the drumbeat for a more established bearer of the Democratic message to enter the race will grow. Democratic voters appear intensely interested in specific plans and proposals this year, but they also desperately want victory. The results from New Hampshire alone tell them neither what will work nor who can win.

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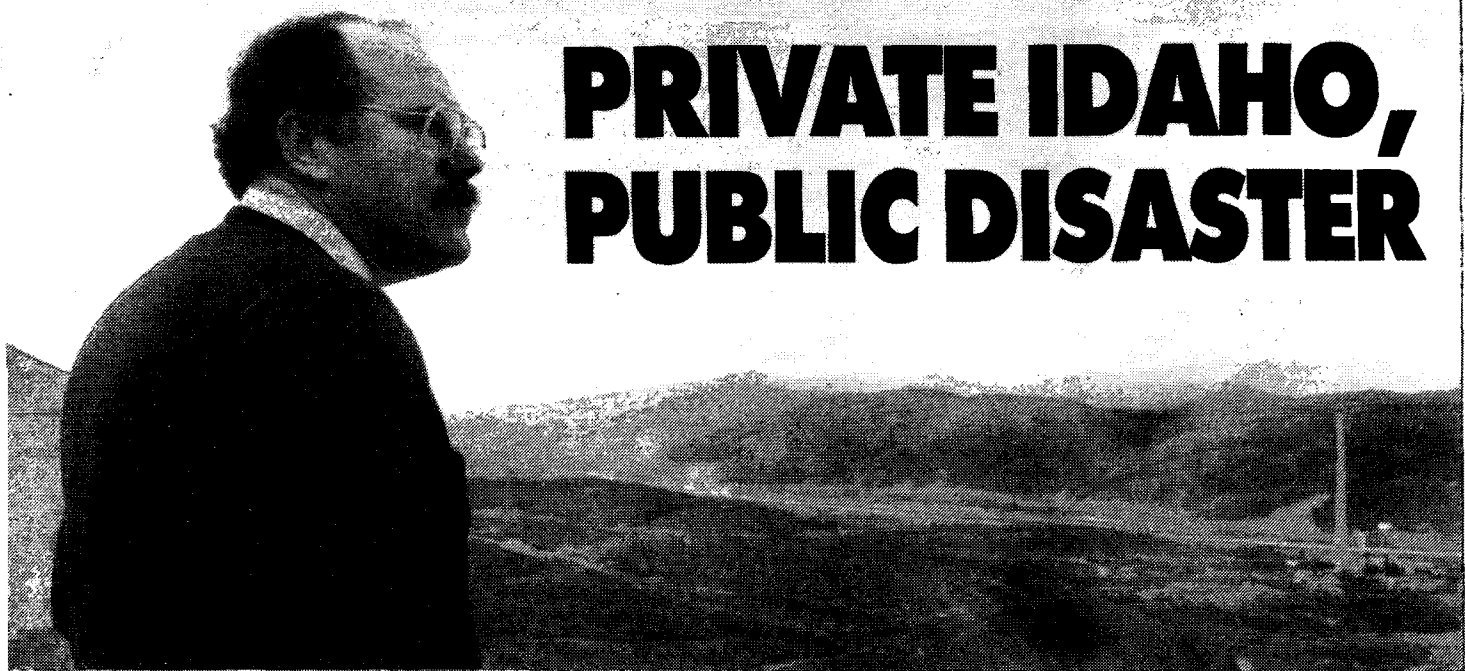
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PRIVATE IDAHO, PUBLIC DISASTER



In 1917, the Bunker Hill Company built a smelter in Kellogg, Idaho. Once a simple mining outfit, Bunker Hill grew rich extracting precious metals from the Silver Valley's lead-laced ore. But the valley's residents paid a heavy price for Bunker Hill's fortune. In 1974, a local child was found to have the highest blood lead levels ever recorded in a human. And in 1982, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) declared 21 square miles of the Silver Valley—home to more than 5,000 people—a Superfund site.

When Congress created the Superfund program in 1980, it provided the EPA with the legal tools it needed to force companies to clean up the hazardous waste sites they had created. But many provisions that put teeth into the Superfund laws have not been utilized and very few sites have been cleaned up. The failure of the program is not in its intent or wording—it is in the lack of will to implement it.

The EPA's political appointees, who wield vast discretionary authority, have impeded progress at nearly all of the nation's Superfund sites. But the Bunker Hill site is so crippled by political interference and bureaucratic mismanagement that it serves as a powerful metaphor for the failures of the program as a whole. If only to illustrate the extent to which the original intent of the Superfund program has been subverted, the story of Bunker Hill deserves to be told.

By **Natasha Giritsky Jernegan**

KELLOGG, IDAHO

THE IDAHO PANHANDLE IS A THIN SLIVER OF land wedged between Washington and Montana. From its southern boundary at the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater rivers, golden, undulating hills roll northward, gradually giving way to lush forests which ascend the western slope of the Continental Divide. Numerous rivers flow through wooded valleys and into three deep azure lakes.

But for travelers crossing Idaho on Interstate 90, the panhandle's pristine beauty disappears as they begin a gradual descent into a devastated, treeless valley, almost lifeless in appearance. At the center of the valley, in the small town of Kellogg, sits the rotting hulk of an abandoned lead smelter, its massive smokestacks jutting high into the sky.

This is the Silver Valley, the legacy of a century of mining and smelting in these mineral-rich mountains. Since the late 1800s, when silver was first discovered in the area, thousands of tons of mining wastes contaminated with heavy metals have been deposited across the valley floor. Miner operators regularly dumped tailings into the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, turning the river's waters white, and carrying lead-laced sediments far into Lake Coeur d'Alene, 35 miles downstream.

When the Bunker Hill Company built a lead smelter and refinery here in 1917, the smoke from the smelter stack began spreading pollutants throughout the area. Smelter fumes deposited so many pollutants in the top few inches of soil that horses grazing in valley pastures have died of lead poisoning and garden produce has been found unsafe to eat.

Visual evidence of environmental damage is abundant. A forest fire swept through the area in the '30s, stripping the area of vegetation, and the valley has retained its grimy,

denuded look ever since.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) estimates that 36,500 tons of wastes—including silver, lead, beryllium, mercury, cadmium and zinc—remain within the 21 square miles of the valley designated as a Superfund site in 1982. And a study by the National Science Foundation found that large quantities of these contaminants—which have been linked to brain damage, lung cancer, reproductive failure and other disorders—have traveled through smokestacks and streambeds to lands well outside the site's boundaries.

Smoke and fire: For nearly a century, the Bunker Hill Company operated above and outside the law. The power of the Silver Valley mining magnates was so great, and the valley itself so remote, that the government and its regulatory agencies rarely interfered in Bunker Hill's operations, even after passage of the Mining Waste Pollution Control Act of 1948. Not until Gulf Resources and Chemical Corporation (no relation to Gulf Oil) bought the much-larger Bunker Hill in 1968, did the state successfully pressure the company to remove its mine tailings from the river.

However, Gulf did little else to improve the company's environmental record. Instead of modernizing Bunker Hill's operations, Gulf intensified silver production—exploiting the high silver prices of the '70s—and used the profits to acquire other natural resource processing operations. By 1979, Gulf had purchased 17 wholly-owned subsidiaries, but Bunker Hill still generated over 50 percent of Gulf's net profits.

Gulf's meteoric expansion came at the expense of the Silver Valley's environment. In September 1973, Bunker Hill's smelter baghouse—a series of cloth bags that filtered lead dust from smokestack emissions—caught fire and half of the 2,000 bags were destroyed. Rather than wait for the bags

to be replaced, Gulf attempted to filter the smoke through the remaining bags. When too much smoke began building up inside the smelter, Gulf executives decided in January 1974 to vent the unfiltered smoke directly into the atmosphere. The EPA later estimated that Gulf discharged 20 years worth of lead emissions into the valley during the first three months of 1974.

After the baghouse fire, the Centers for Disease Control performed blood tests on the area's children and found that 99 percent of the 179 children living within a mile of the smelter had what were then considered abnormally high blood lead levels—above 40 micrograms of lead per deciliter of blood. (Today, just 10 micrograms per deciliter [mg/dl] is the threshold for concern.) Forty percent had "unequivocal lead poisoning," more than 80 mg/dl.

The hardest hit area was called Deadwood Gulch. Located in the shadow of the smelter stacks, a number of Bunker Hill employees and their families lived there in company-owned shacks. The highest blood lead level ever recorded in a human, 164 mg/dl, was found in Edna Yoss, a miner's infant daughter. Following the findings, Bunker Hill vacated Deadwood Gulch and bulldozed the houses.

Trial by fire: In 1977, a lawsuit was filed against Gulf on behalf of Yoss, her brother and sister, and six other children seeking compensation for the lead poisoning they had suffered. During the trial, the children's attorney, Paul Whelan, introduced evidence showing Gulf had known of a lead contamination problem even before the baghouse fire.

In 1972, Gulf obtained tests taken in the local grade school which showed the children had elevated lead levels. While company physicians gave the community a clean bill of health, Gulf Vice President Frank Woodruff secretly estimated the company's potential liability for exposing Kellogg children to lead smoke. Woodruff's calculations were based on a 1970 lead poisoning incident, in which lead emissions at an El Paso, Texas, smelter were linked to increased blood lead levels in the surrounding population. Woodruff estimated the liability for poisoning 500 Kellogg children at \$6 million to \$7 million.

Woodruff underestimated, but only slightly. The Yoss case was settled in October 1981 for \$8.8 million. As part of the settlement, both parties agreed to seal the court files, concealing information which established Gulf's liability. In all, only 46 children received compensation for the lead poisoning they suffered.

All along, Gulf portrayed itself as a victim of overzealous EPA regulators intent on enforcing unrealistic safety standards. In 1977,

Former EPA Regional Administrator
Robin Russell surveys Idaho's Silver Valley.

the EPA had told Gulf to reduce smelter emissions in the Silver Valley. The company, instead of upgrading its pollution control equipment, simply built taller smokestacks. Gulf indicated that it might have to shut down its Silver Valley operations unless the agency loosened up proposed regulations.

The EPA's regional staff felt Gulf's objections to pollution standards were unwarranted, especially since—as a recent EPA report noted—Gulf "had a history of non-compliance" with pollution laws. According to the EPA report, Gulf demanded that agency officials give "advance notice of inspections—[Gulf] then ensure[d] that the individuals involved were absent and that the equipment would be shut down at the time of inspection."

In retrospect, Gulf's threat against the EPA may have been an excuse to abandon the Silver Valley. By the early '80s, silver prices had plummeted and Gulf had nearly exhausted the valley's highest-grade ore. On Aug. 25, 1981, two months after settling the Yoss case, Gulf shut down Bunker Hill.

The life of the mining town: With the layoff of Bunker Hill's 2,200 employees, the local economy collapsed. Hoping to reopen the site themselves, Bunker Hill employees attempted to buy the facility for a reported \$130 million, but were unable to get financing. A group of Idaho businessmen offered \$65 million, but their plan was derailed when the United Steelworkers of America refused to sign a labor agreement.

In November 1982, nearly a year after the site closed, a group calling itself Bunker Limited Partnership (BLP) purchased the mine, smelter and substantial timber holdings for \$9.8 million. The partnership was led by newspaperman Duane Hagadone and mining executive Harry Magnuson. The partners, dubbed "The White Knights" by grateful locals, promised to bring the mine and smelter back into production.

Though BLP also included Jack Kendrick, former president of Bunker Hill under Gulf, and potato magnate J.R. Simplot, Hagadone and Magnuson were the driving force behind the enterprise. Throughout the '80s, the fate of the Silver Valley has been closely wedded to the fortunes of these two men.

Local perceptions of the two vary, but no one will deny that whichever way you turn in northern Idaho you will feel their presence. Tourism, real estate, banking and publishing all bear their imprint. Their biggest impact, however, may yet prove to be their involvement with Bunker Hill.

Harry Magnuson is the stuff of local legend. Charismatic and larger-than-life, he is known for getting his own way. Although it took a ten-year court fight, Magnuson blocked the federal government from putting a highway through his hometown of Wallace, a quaint mining town upwind of the Silver Valley, best known until recently for its brothels and gambling dens.

Magnuson's fortune has its roots in Silver Valley mining, but has expanded to include tourist facilities, banking interests and several shopping malls. Many of his projects are in bankruptcy proceedings, but Magnuson is not one to shy away from a fight. He has hung onto his businesses by deploying attorneys to fend off creditors and dispute property tax assessments.

Duane Hagadone controls an equally sprawling group of holdings, but his style is more low-key. Known as a newspaperman, Hagadone owns almost every paper in northern Idaho. But those properties form only a

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

portion of his communications division. His hold on local papers, however, allows him to influence public opinion, and he has not hesitated to use that power to promote his own interests. In the last few years, he has concentrated his efforts on tourist facilities in his hometown of Coeur d'Alene, the centerpiece of which is the lavish Coeur d'Alene Resort and golf course.

What a bargain: Although Hagadone and Magnuson have completed some legendary deals in northern Idaho, few could figure out how they had wrested Bunker Hill from Gulf for just \$9.8 million—less than the company's timber holdings alone were worth. Not until 1987, when Spokane's *Spokesman-Review and Chronicle* uncovered an obscure provision in the purchase agreement, did the price begin to make sense.

The agreement required BLP to "take all reasonable action with respect to environmental and pollution-control laws ... in order to ensure that neither Bunker Hill nor Gulf will be required to make any further expenditures to effect compliance with such laws." By including the clause, Gulf apparently felt it could shield itself from any future liability.

As anticipated, Bunker Hill's environmental liability soon became an issue. On December 20, 1982, the EPA placed a 21-square-mile area—including the Bunker Hill Company mine and smelter complex—on the National Priorities List of hazardous waste sites. Just one month after BLP bought it, Bunker Hill had become a Superfund site.

The EPA, unaware of the terms of sale, naively anticipated BLP's full cooperation in the cleanup. Following standard Superfund procedures, the EPA first attempted to define the site's problems and identify the Potentially Responsible Parties (PRPs). In 1983, it named Gulf Resources as the sole Bunker Hill PRP, retaining the option of naming

others later. BLP was not named, since it had not contributed to the pollution.

Nevertheless, in order to insulate themselves from any potential liability, the partners sought to hide BLP's assets and ownership. Over the years, the partnership agreement went through a series of permutations during which Simplot dropped out, Kendrick remained as frontman, and Magnuson and Hagadone hid their continuing presence behind repeated corporate name changes. Various mining companies were established in different states and in Canada, merged and re-formed, as assets and stock were traded and transferred. Gradually, the partners formed a nearly impenetrable web of front companies.

Despite BLP's promise to reopen Bunker Hill's smelter, the partnership never invested the estimated \$50 million it would have cost to bring the plant into compliance with environmental regulations. In July 1985, any hope the community had that the smelter would reopen evaporated when Duane Hagadone announced that BLP was going to auction the company's equipment that October.

Simultaneously, Hagadone announced his intention to make northern Idaho the recreation-tourist capital of the Pacific Northwest. He called for a gondola installation to be built above the town of Kellogg, linking it to the Silver Mountain ski area, much of which already belonged to the partnership (see accompanying story).

Soon after Hagadone's announcement, BLP began dismantling the Bunker Hill smelter complex, taking little care to contain the wastes on site. The salvage operations continued throughout 1986 and 1987 and triggered a chain of events which put the partnership on a collision course with the EPA.

Political cover: In early 1986, as BLP was coming under increasing EPA scrutiny, Harry Magnuson blasted Republican Idaho Sens.

Jim McClure and Steve Symms, blaming them for ignoring the loss of Silver Valley mining and smelting jobs. Both senators angrily denied the charges.

A few months later, however, McClure nominated Robie Russell, a Republican attorney with the Idaho Attorney General's office to head EPA's Region 10, which oversees the states of Alaska, Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Russell had been active in Republican Party politics in Idaho and, while leading the attorney general's Natural Resource Division, had been considered sympathetic to mining interests.

On August 4, 1986, just days before Russell assumed the EPA post, the agency released a report on Bunker Hill despite the partnership's objections. The EPA report, based on corporate documents obtained by search warrant, determined that "most of the area within the project area boundaries must be regarded as significantly contaminated," with the highest concentrations found around the smelter complex.

The report also found high levels of water pollution in both the rivers and groundwater, with nearly four pounds of lead and 538 pounds of zinc entering the groundwater daily. The report concluded that between 1965 and 1981 the smelter's main stack emitted more than 3,000 tons of lead, 280 tons of cadmium, 430 tons of zinc, 14.5 tons of mercury and 35 tons of arsenic.

After taking office, Russell insisted that no further reports on Bunker Hill be issued without his prior approval. He also let it be known that he intended to gain BLP's compliance by using informal negotiations and agreements in lieu of binding formal orders.

In late 1986, EPA staff attempted to negotiate an agreement with the partnership about ongoing salvage operations. While insisting that it wanted to cooperate, the partnership denied EPA access to the site until July 1987,

by which time large numbers of heavily contaminated railroad ties had been sold, an equipment had been torn from the building for salvage. This released large quantities of asbestos-containing material, which the partnership did nothing to contain.

Frustrated by the partnership's lack of cooperation, EPA's hazardous waste division director informed the partnership in November 1987 that further salvage activity would be governed by an administrative order. But Russell overruled the decision, the partnership again promised to cooperate and the administrative order was never issued.

But throughout 1988, partnership officials continued to deny the EPA access to the facilities. The EPA staff concluded that although Gulf was responsible for most of Bunker Hill's problems, the partnership had contributed to many of them and should be named as a PRP. Robie Russell refused.

In desperation, EPA staff secretly asked the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR), a federal agency which independently monitors Superfund sites, to perform a public health review at the site. After conducting the review, the ATSDR issued a Public Health Advisory in October 1989. The advisory focused particular attention on the deteriorating smelter complex, and warned that significant concentrations of lead, cadmium, arsenic and asbestos posed a continuing danger to valley residents.

That month, Russell finally agreed to name BLP as a PRP. The EPA then issued an administrative order to Gulf Resources and BLP to immediately fence the site, clean up asbestos and PCBs, drain mercury out of the smelter sludge, control the dust and decontaminate the items being sold at salvage. Nearly seven years had passed since the Superfund process began at Bunker Hill.

'Extraordinary measures': In response to complaints over Robie Russell's handling

With its mining industry failing, the Silver Valley town of Kellogg puts its hopes in a downhill run

High in the mountains above Kellogg, Idaho, untouched by the smelter fumes that ravaged the valley below, stands the Silver Mountain ski area. To Kellogg residents, devastated by the collapse of the local mining industry, the remote ski slope has offered its best and perhaps only hope for economic revival.

Those hopes were raised in 1985, when Coeur d'Alene businessman Duane Hagadone promised to include Kellogg's ski area in his plan to transform north Idaho into the recreation center of the Northwest. Hagadone, a co-owner of Kellogg's Bunker Hill smelter, said the plan was contingent on the construction of a gondola linking Kellogg to the remote ski area.

Soon after Hagadone announced the plan, the Kellogg City Council began lobbying government agencies for a grant or low-interest loan to build the gondola, but the efforts were unsuccessful. The city then appealed to Idaho Sen. Jim McClure, who responded by attaching a \$6.4 million matching-funds grant to a 1987 Forest Service appropriation bill.

The project was attacked as pernicious pork-barreling by the Reagan administration. But McClure rose to its defense, criticizing the "accountants" who were "targeting this community with their axes." The spending bill passed the Senate.

Kellogg, a town of 2,600, then had to find \$6.4 million in matching funds to build the gondola. Switzerland's Von Roll Transport

System, a gondola manufacturer, offered to finance a bond issue if Kellogg voters would agree to a 20-year, \$100,000 per year tax levy. In September 1988, the townspeople overwhelmingly approved the tax and prepared to welcome the tourists and developers they believed would end the Silver Valley's economic slump.

The gondola opened in 1990, and the city selected Hagadone Hospitality to manage the ski resort and gondola. Currently, the ski area provides about 200 jobs during the winter and 125 in the off-season. But the economic boom anticipated in Kellogg has yet to arrive. Earnings from Silver Mountain pay for Hagadone Hospitality salaries and expenses and go to reimburse Von Roll for the gondola. Any remaining money stays within Silver Mountain to facilitate expansion. The city receives no direct revenues from the ski area.

Hagadone and Bunker Hill partner Harry Magnuson appear to be making a healthy profit off the ski area. BLP owns much of the ski area, which it leases for \$1 a year to the city of Kellogg. In return, the city pays BLP's taxes on the property. The advertising for Silver Mountain—paid for by Kellogg—also promotes Hagadone's Coeur d'Alene Resort, which lodges many of the skiers who visit the site. The two most popular hotels in Silver Valley, the restored Jameson Hotel in Wallace and the Wallace Inn, belong to Harry Magnuson.

Meanwhile, the Silver Valley's Shoshone County is reeling from BLP's failure to pay more than \$2 million in back taxes on its other local business ventures. The budget crisis caused by the partnership's tax delinquency, along with a downturn in the mining industry, is so severe that Kellogg may not be able to meet its debt obligations on the gondola. If the levy goes unpaid, Von Roll will take over ownership of the gondola.

Despite the local tax troubles, Rose Breazeal, manager of ERA Real Estate in Kellogg, says the development has begun to revive the valley's economy. Since the gondola opened, Breazeal notes, property values have tripled. But most of the homes are bought by people from outside the area who appear to be speculating on the success of the ski resort—many houses are rented back to local people.

Breazeal plays down the fact that the area is a Superfund site. The lead, says Breazeal, "sounds worse than it is" because "the normal person doesn't get it on them." Since new home buyers frequently make their initial inquiries at the ski area or real estate offices, they tend to hear Breazeal's side of the story.

Bob Algera moved his family to the Silver Valley from New Jersey a year ago. He and his wife decided it was a great opportunity to get into the ski business on the ground floor. He has no recollection of being told by Breazeal, his real

estate agent, that his home was within the boundaries of a Superfund site. (Such notification is required by the National Association of Realtors.)

Nevertheless, after talking to local people, Algera decided that the contaminants his family is exposed to in the Silver Valley are probably no worse than the air and noise pollution they encountered in New Jersey. The top soil from Algera's lawn was replaced during his wife's pregnancy, and he hopes to see progress made on cleaning up the smelter. But for now, he is not overly concerned. "The kids' [blood lead] levels, I believe, are at what are considered safe levels," he said. "Aren't they?"

With the development of the ski area, the Silver Valley is anxious to lose the stigma of being a Superfund site. Barbara Miller of Idaho Citizens Network has noticed an increased enthusiasm among gondola backers for the EPA to complete the cleanup, but she fears the community favors a superficial cleanup, such as the greening up of the valley's barren hillsides. These improvements are clearly consistent with the development of the ski area, but more substantial procedures may not be. "The ski area will interfere with the complete cleanup," warns Penny Newman, western region director of Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, who has worked on the site. "The more intrusive stuff will be avoided." —N.G.J.

of the site, the EPA's inspector general launched an investigation. The resulting report, released in February 1990, found that Russell "took extraordinary measures to prevent the HWD [hazardous waste division] staff from performing the normal and proper activities required to enforce the Superfund regulations. ... As a result, EPA failed to take timely enforcement action against BLP.

According to the report, Russell's delay gave BLP sufficient time to hide its assets from EPA officials attempting to assess the partnership's liability for the cleanup. In addition, the inspector general's report warned that BLP's unsupervised sales of Bunker Hill equipment may have spread contamination to unsuspecting buyers.

Russell resigned shortly before the inspector general's report was made public. Now a freelance environmental consultant and attorney in the Seattle area, Russell denies any wrongdoing. "There has been no violation of the law," he told Boise's *Idaho Statesman* in May 1990. "Everything that was done, was done within the discretionary authority of those people responsible, either myself or subordinate managers." Although environmental groups have called for Russell to be prosecuted for his role at Bunker Hill, no action has been taken.

Cha Smith of the Washington Toxics Coalition was one of the early voices calling for Russell's ouster. Reflecting on Russell's tenure as regional administrator, she says, "Russell clearly represented industry's concerns. He was quite transparent—he didn't even try to disguise that bias."

Dust in the wind: Work on the Bunker Hill Superfund site has been going on for nine years now. So far, the cleanup has accomplished little. The heavily contaminated Central Impoundment Area, which contains the smelter and the bulk of the contaminated wastes, remains virtually untouched. Ongoing salvage activity set off a fire last fall, which resulted in an EPA order—similar to their 1989 ruling—telling BLP to again contain the contaminated materials located within the smelter complex.

In October 1990, the EPA released a Risk Assessment/Data Evaluation Report for the Silver Valley. It found that "contamination is [still] ubiquitous and is found in a wide range of concentrations in residential yard soils, interior dusts, right-of-ways, commercial properties, surface and groundwater, and air particulate matter."

Idaho's Department of Health and Welfare began replacing soils from the lawns of families with small children in 1986. But to date, only 300 residences have been completed out of approximately 1,800 total. Recently, the state purchased a fire hose for the Kellogg City Fire Department to use watering down dusty roads and hillsides. And funds provided by the PRPs have been used to buy vacuum cleaners which will be made available to local residents.

But these simple cleanup strategies don't begin to deal with the thousands of tons of pollutants that remain in abandoned tailings piles throughout the valley. Perhaps the biggest obstacle to a thorough cleanup is the EPA's inability to raise funds from the PRPs.

In 1989, Gulf Resources attempted to shift its assets to Bermuda, but the EPA and the Justice Department prevented the move, citing Gulf's potential liabilities in the Silver Valley. Later that year, however, nearly all of Gulf's assets were transferred to New Zealand, a country that does not have an agreement with the U.S. to allow enforcement of

court judgments. To satisfy EPA's requirement that Gulf maintain \$150 million in U.S. assets, the company has maintained a coal mine in Pennsylvania, the value of which may be inflated.

The EPA has encountered similar difficulties with BLP. As recently as August 1990, the Bunker Hill Mining Co., owned by the Hagadone-Magnuson partnership, was posting record quarterly earnings. But by October 1990, as silver prices hit a 14-year low, the mine began laying off workers.

Last January, the company filed for protection from creditors under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy laws, and laid off most of its remaining workers. The EPA responded by filing lien claims against properties within the site in order to ensure the availability of cleanup money. The liens were filed against Minerals Corporation of Idaho, since the bankruptcy proceedings froze legal action against Bunker Hill Mining Co.

By May, however, the EPA had apparently tired of the partnership's corporate shuffle. It sent inquiries to the principals in Bunker Limited Partnership—Duane Hagadone,

Harry Magnuson and Jack Kendrick—to determine the degree of the partnership's liability for the cleanup. Each partner was also informed that the inquiry was "directed to you in your personal capacity," setting the stage for the possibility of individual liability.

Shortly thereafter, Bunker Limited Partnership filed for bankruptcy. With Russell gone, the EPA moved to ensure that BLP would not be relieved of its liability. A bankruptcy court recently awarded the agency \$2 million of the partnership's assets.

"We have tried to reason, tried to work with the corporations," said Alan Bakalian, an EPA attorney for Region 10. "Had the corporations cooperated, there would be no need to get information from individuals."

First steps: Despite the EPA's recent court victory, little progress has been made in actually cleaning up the site. So far, the agency has expended most of its energies conducting studies of the site. In 1987, Gulf Resources agreed to participate in the first step of the Superfund process, and began a remedial investigation of the site's unpopulated area.

Gulf recently completed the remedial inves-

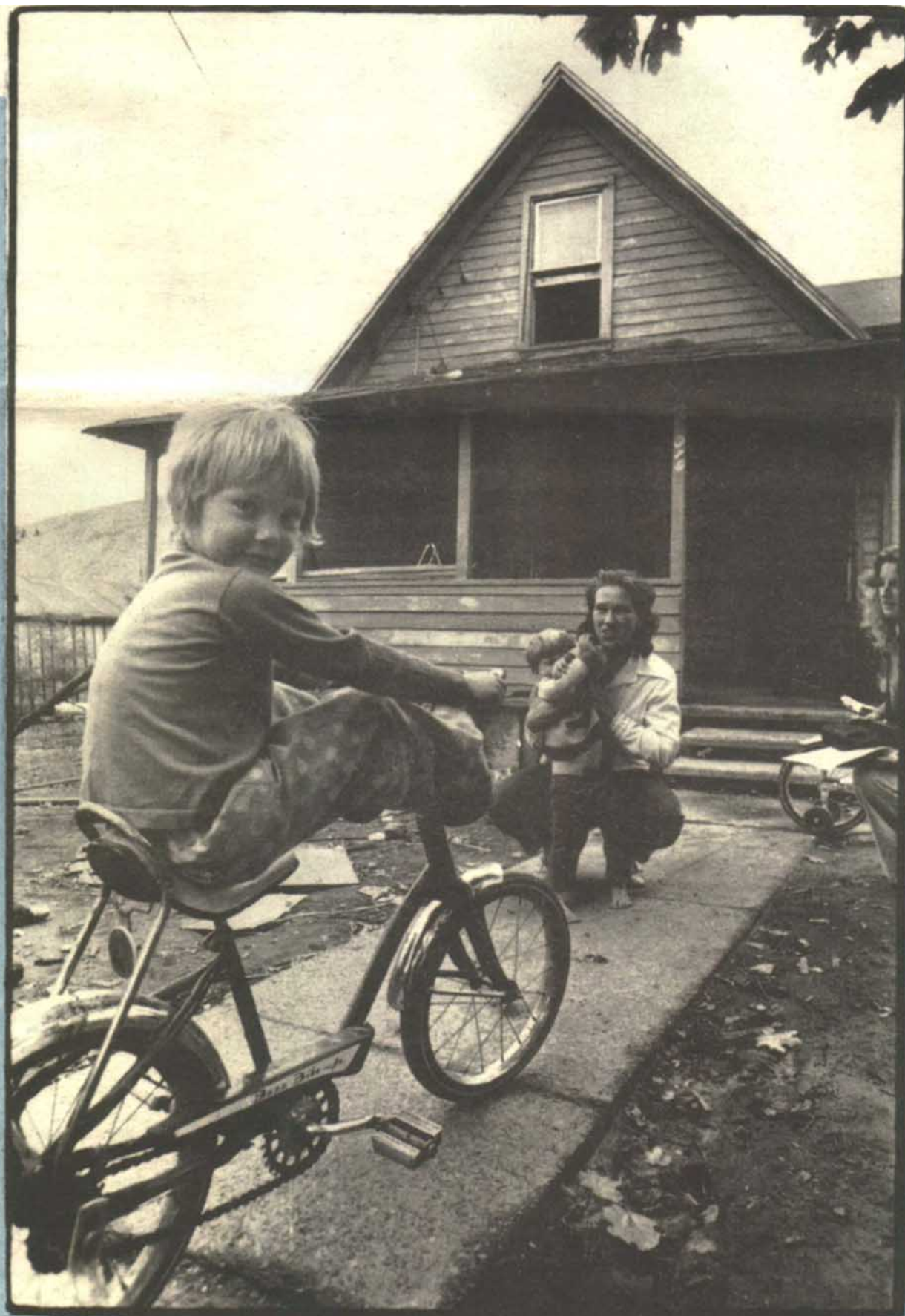
tigation and now it has moved to develop a feasibility study for cleanup in conjunction with the other PRPs. But BLP's refusal to participate may yet derail the process. Other PRPs—the EPA has named 15 other mining, chemical and railroad companies—have notified the EPA that they will not pay for a cleanup that benefits BLP unless the partnership pays up.

Currently, the EPA estimates that Gulf's feasibility study for remaining cleanup activities at Bunker Hill will be completed in the summer of 1992. That date has already been pushed back several times.

EPA project manager Nick Ceto says that once the PRPs sign a formal consent decree, the cleanup should be completed within seven to 10 years. Ceto insists that the project is proceeding on schedule. "The agency is committed to accommodating the community's needs," he says. "We're going just as fast as we can."

But not everyone is convinced that the agency is committed to a prompt and thorough cleanup. Hugh Kaufman, the EPA's assistant director of Hazardous Site Control and an out-

Continued on page 22



In a 1974 photo, the Yoss family, plaintiffs in a lead-poisoning suit against Gulf Resources, play outside their home in Deadwood Gulch.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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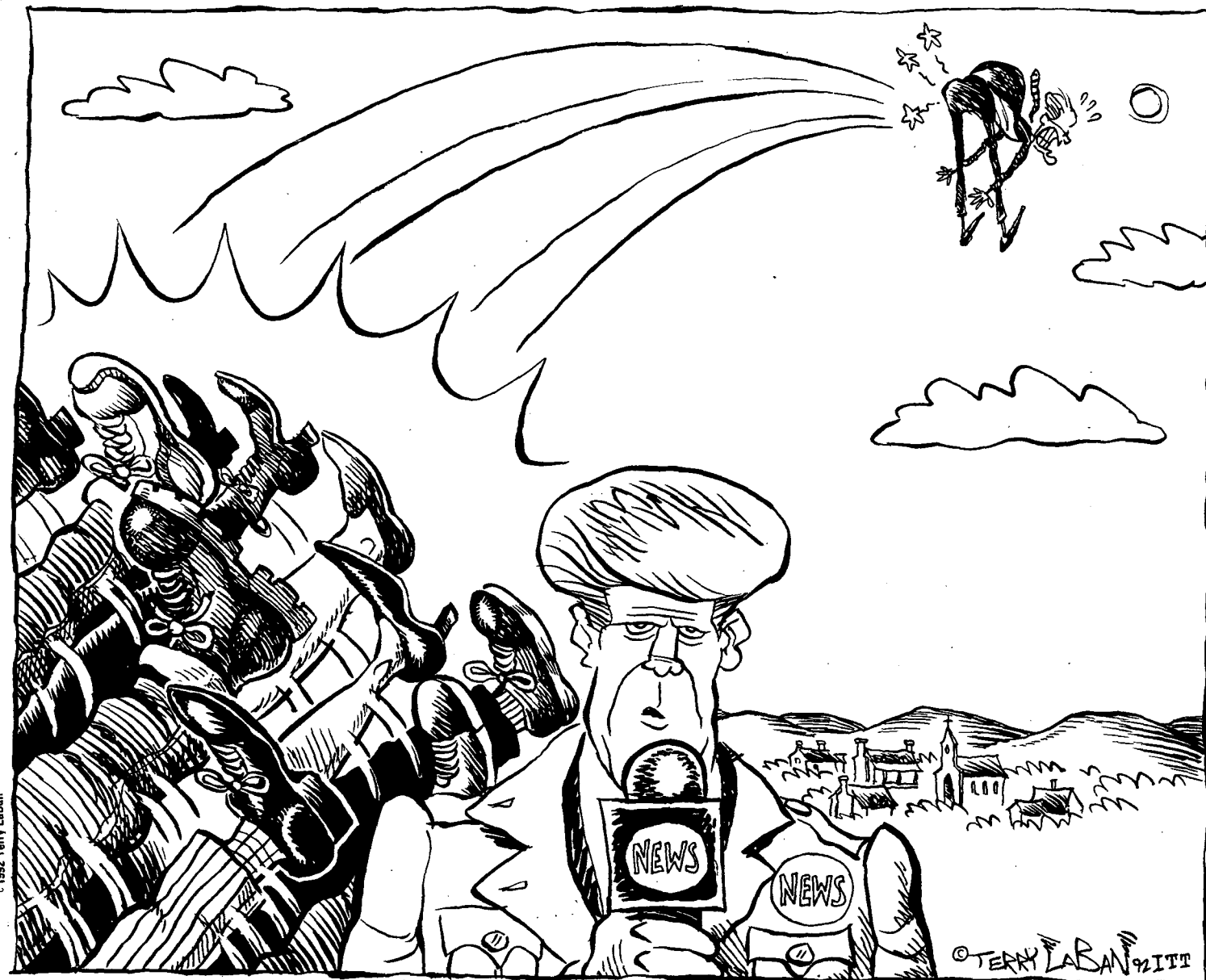
(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

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This issue (Vol. 16, No. 14) published Feb. 26, 1992, for newsstand sales Feb. 26-March 10, 1992.



"THE NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTERS HAVE DELIVERED THEIR MESSAGE, AND THE PRESIDENT IS FLYING SOUTH NOW TO CONTINUE HIS CAMPAIGN..."

Federal policy and the death of clean energy

From 1984 to 1991, Luz International, Ltd. and its subsidiaries built nine solar-thermal generating plants in the Mojave desert. Together they produce 354 megawatts of electricity—90 percent of the world's solar energy. This is enough electricity to meet all the power needed by 540,000 southern Californians. And these plants will do this for the next 30 years without polluting the atmosphere and at a cost per kilowatt-hour that is competitive with nuclear power. Luz' generators were built in three groups, each more efficient than the last and each having greater generating capacity and lower per-kilowatt costs than the previous one. The next generation of plants, planned for construction in 1994-95, would have brought costs down to between 6 and 6.5 cents per kwh, or less than the cost of natural gas electric generation. Unfortunately, they may never be built. Luz International filed for bankruptcy in November.

Absent policy: The demise of Luz International had nothing to do with the economic feasibility of thermal power. It was clear that Luz' plants would soon become competitive with the least expensive forms of electric generation. Indeed, Luz was profitable even in this first stage of research and development and while operating without economies of scale. And, of course, the solar plants did not entail the enormous social costs of fossil fuel or nuclear generation. They produce neither the emissions that threaten global warming and contribute to acid rain, nor the radioactivity that threatens nuclear disaster and creates apparently insoluble problems of dealing with radioactive waste. Taken from the point of view of society as a whole, solar power is the healthiest and least-expensive energy source.

As Luz International Chairman Newton Becker said when the company filed for bankruptcy, its demise could not be attributed to technical or economic failure but was simply the result of the U.S. not having a national energy policy. "What little federal support we've gotten," Becker noted, "has been on-again, off-again, and what little we've got has been much less than for fossil fuels and nuclear energy."

This was not sour grapes. Nuclear plants are the recipients of

massive federal subsidies, and gas and oil companies profit from an array of tax benefits.

In contrast, federal and state support for solar power, briefly substantial in the wake of the '70s oil crisis, became more and more uncertain after 1986. Beginning then, renewal of federal tax credits for solar and geothermal energy development was made part of a package of orphan laws known as "extenders." These laws had to be approved by Congress every year, which meant that starting in 1987 Luz had to lobby Congress for an extension of its tax credit at the beginning of each year, then frantically raise capital from investors and finally build the plant before the end of the year when the tax credit ran out. Problems with California's property tax credits were even worse. Until last year, Republican Govs. George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson routinely vetoed renewal of credits for solar power.

These uncertainties raised Luz' cost of financing—new money had to be raised every year—and led to cost overruns as it rushed to complete each year's project. Last year, when Congress extended the tax credit for only nine months, the burden became too much and the company failed.

Time for a change: In this year's presidential campaign, all the Democratic candidates are talking about the need to end dependency on foreign oil—thereby improving the balance of trade—and to regain world leadership in developing new technologies. But most of their talk about renewable energy lacks specifics.

Solar power, whether solar-thermal, solar-hydrogen (in which solar energy is used to generate hydrogen for use as a clean-burning fuel) or photovoltaic (in which sunlight is used to generate electricity directly), could be a major contributor to the attainment of all these goals. Indeed, Tom Harkin is the lone Democrat advocating a "solar-hydrogen economy."

If dependence on foreign oil is a real concern, if global warming and acid rain really threaten the future of the planet—and most scientists believe they do—and if the United States needs to regain leadership in the industrial world, then federal and state aid to solar power should surpass aid to the nuclear and fossil-fuel industries. In short, it's time for a national energy policy that puts the public interest first and the special interests of oil and nuclear companies last. And, of course, that means getting rid of those political leaders whose first loyalties are to those industries and not to the American people.

LETTERS

Rush to judgment

I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND IN THESE TIMES TO BE accurate, thoughtful and on target. I also have found Salim Muwakkil to be a professional with keen insight. Unfortunately, his article on the 1st Congressional District of Illinois (*ITT*, Jan. 22) not only missed the point, it was also inaccurate.

As a former Southsider, I know that U.S. Rep. Ralph Metcalfe was the first black U.S. representative from Chicago not to be controlled by the machine. His break with Mayor Daley's machine was caused by the brutality of the Chicago police and came while Harold Washington was still a state senator (and part of the machine himself). While it is true that Washington (then an independent) did unseat appointed Rep. Bennett Stewart (installed by the black minions of Daley's machine), he was the *second* independent Democrat from the 1st Congressional District.

Charlie Hayes is the third. Harold Washington supported him because he knew that his base in the labor movement made him free of the clutches of the party minions, and he knew of Hayes' longtime progressive stands. A co-founder of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Hayes' union hall was the only place Martin Luther King Jr. could find to house his ultimately unsuccessful Northern strategy. Bobby Rush would not be the fourth. He would be the first machine representative in the district since Bennett Stewart.

There may be a "Black Panther feud" in this congressional race, but it is a sideshow to the larger battle. The real battle is the same as it has been in Chicago for years: the machine vs. the independents. Bobby Rush's ambition has led him to embrace the substance of the machine, while also adopting some necessary progressive symbols. Charlie Hayes, on the other hand, is the same person the late Harold Washington supported in 1983: a solid supporter for progressive causes, an elected official who knows who he is and hasn't had to remake himself. Former Panther Bobby Rush is apparently intent on proving that he has nine lives. He has yet to show one that deserves to be mentioned in the same sentence with Washington and Hayes.

M. James Wilson
Silver Spring, Md.

Uninformed judgment

IN THE DECEMBER 25 ISSUE OF YOUR PUBLICATION, Joel Bleifuss reaches the incredible conclusion that Tom Harkin is not up to the job of the presidency because, in the NBC debate, "he came across as another talking head."

For years, progressives have been arguing against superficial, media-oriented judgments on political candidates, urging instead careful consideration of issues. Nevertheless, Bleifuss writes, "It's true that Harkin has a great voting record in Congress. Yet Harkin seemed to be speaking from a script." From this insubstantial non-fact, Bleifuss concludes that progressives should disregard Tom Harkin.

What more superficial, non-issue criterion could Bleifuss have picked for choosing the next president? None but his reason for liking Kerrey: that he comes across as more "sincere."

Besides that, anyone who has seen these candidates speaking in forums other than the badly structured NBC "debate" knows that Harkin is far and away the best orator in the race, Democrat or Republican. No doubt, the Americans for Harkin campaign (7910 Woodmont Ave., 10th floor, Bethesda, MD 20814) would send Bleifuss a video of Harkin's rousing speech before the Democrats of Wisconsin; or his campaign kickoff in Iowa. I do not believe Bob Kerrey, for all his sincerity, has the ability to bring crowds to their feet cheering the way Harkin does.

We can differ over the "presence" of Harkin vs. Kerrey. But your readers expect more by way of political analysis than one person's uninformed and purely subjective view of how a candidate looks on television. Progressives should, as always, vote the issues, and that means taking seriously that great record Tom Harkin has amassed in Congress.

John Campbell
Madison, Wis.

Sea change

DAVID MOBERG'S JANUARY 15 ARTICLE ADVOCATING increased public investment and a more progressive federal income tax structure as "the best way out of the recession" is just what would be needed if all we faced was a mere recession. However, each day it becomes more apparent that in the 1990s the U.S. economy will undergo more than a run-of-the-mill, post-World War II recession. Evidence points to shifts in our economic structure similar to those we experienced in the 1870s and 60 years later in the 1930s. The pattern is familiar: Mature industries experience serious, prolonged financial distress, workers are displaced to lower income levels or worse, aggregate income declines, small businesses fail in alarming numbers, uncertainty and fear rule decision-making at all levels, and the long process of change and restoration gets under way.

It remains to be seen whether we will face a decade or more of hard times, as in the 1870s, or desperate times, as in the 1930s, because what we do or don't do now will determine the depth and nature of the change. A sick feeling in the pit of my stomach tells me that George Bush will not acknowledge reality and congressional Democrats will be unable—if they are will-

ing—to force the issue, and, as in 1929, not until it is too late will the political establishment get real.

T.R. Snyder
Ogunquit, Maine

Fascism is here

YOUR EDITORIAL ON JFK MISSES THE UNDERLYING issue (*ITT*, Jan. 22). Dismissing Oliver Stone's thesis with a cavalier "some of Stone's ideas are off the wall" lends credit to his attackers in the mainstream and narrows the debate to freedom of speech issues when the real debate is whether or not a military coup took place with the murder of President John Kennedy.

When the Warren report was released, a majority of Americans disbelieved it. That majority grew to about 70 percent in the '70s, and presently about three-quarters of Americans believe the murder was part of a conspiracy. A large percentage of the public believes that the CIA was behind this plot.

This persistent majority is not a fringe group of lunatics. Unsubstantiated attacks on the movie's credibility do not serve your readers.

In an interview in 1967, Jim Garrison talked about the social consequences of JFK's murder. He said: "We're not going to wake up one morning and suddenly find ourselves in gray uniforms goose-stepping off to work. But this isn't the test. The test is: What happens to the individual who dissents? In Nazi Germany, he was physically destroyed; here, the process is more subtle, but the end results can be the same.... Huey Long once said, 'Fascism will come to America in the name of anti-fascism.' I'm afraid, based on my own experience, that fascism will come to America in the name of national security...."

With CIA frontman George Bush running our government, isn't it about time we stopped chanting, "It can't happen here"? It happened.

Robert Carl Miller
Daly City, Calif.

Halliday and Lazare

IN THESE TIMES HAS SUCH A FINE RECORD OF INVESTIGATIVE journalism in environmental matters that it is especially painful to see noted contributors cold, indifferent or downright hostile.

Reports have just begun to filter in about the ecological aftereffects of the Gulf War. We may never see photos of the innumerable

able migrating birds said to have flapped themselves to death in oil puddles. (On the second or third day of the war, National Public Radio science consultants commented that oil lines through the Gulf were so complex and military action so devastating that no one could ever properly assess the blame. That report was never repeated, but if all the blame lies with Saddam Hussein, the environmental victims of the war would be just as dead.) A hundred years from now, all the Middle Eastern states may well have different names and borders—but the ecological destruction will remain. Fred Halliday doesn't seem to see that side (*ITT*, Jan. 15): He isn't interested enough.

ITT's presidential campaign coverage likewise. Even the *New York Times* reports some jabs at Clinton's environmental record. What is it, anyway? And what about the other contenders? John Judis, like other "competitiveness" zealots, could obviously care less, unless and until the back pages of the *Times* and the *Washington Post* pick up the story and he can resume his usual pontifical rewrites. But won't *ITT* put someone else on this particular job?

Finally, we come to Dan Lazare, who goes out of his way to sneer at Greenpeace (*ITT*, Dec. 25). Should they be criticized? Sure. But does anyone with a heart think that "exotic animals in far-away places" don't deserve to be protected, along with their rainforest habitats?

If Greenpeace has failed in domestic issues, what's Lazare's strategy, and what is he doing about it? There are a thousand things to be tried, from political evocations of nostalgia for once-viable seashore and wilderness (especially big among older working-class people) to habitat preservation (with the assistance of Yankee blue-bloods) to neighborhood toxics coalitions of minorities—and plenty more. We need experimentation: One plan doesn't cancel out the other. But we need more information, too.

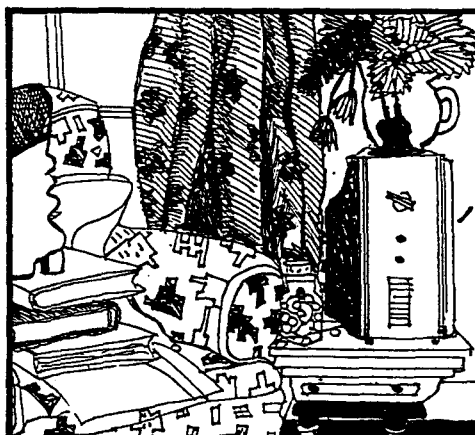
Paul Buhle
Providence

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

A reminder...

This issue—Volume 16, Number 14—covers two weeks. *In These Times* returns to its regular weekly schedule with the March 11 issue.

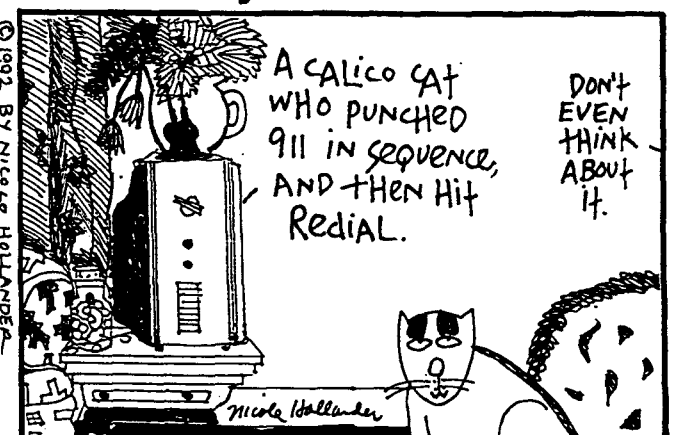
SYLVIA



Police in Boynton Beach, Florida, investigating repeated calls to 911, reported that the calls were being made by

3-7

by Nicole Hollander



IN THESE TIMES FEB. 26-MARCH 10, 1992 15



'Political correctness' and identity politics

Under the guise of an attack on "political correctness," over the past year the right has been attacking the left as a threat to freedom of speech. A spate of articles have appeared in the popular press arguing that progressives have risen to power in the universities and are using that power to enforce acceptance of their values. This is mostly an attempt to discredit the efforts of progressives to introduce greater racial and gender diversity to the universities; the attack has focused on affirmative action, multicultural curricula, ethnic studies and women's studies programs. There is no truth to the claim that the left is now in control of academia. But there is some truth to the right's critique of the progressive subculture within the universities. The powerlessness of the left can foster moralism and self-righteousness, both of which compound the left's isolation. In this article, I will examine the truth in the right-wing attack on "political correctness."

By Barbara Epstein

FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, THE U.S. MEDIA have been preoccupied with "political correctness" and the threat it supposedly poses to free speech and other accepted liberal values. The attack on "political correctness" in

universities has focused on affirmative action, multiculturalism, feminism, gay rights and what is loosely called postmodernism or poststructuralism.

It is remarkable how long public interest in this topic has been sustained. Americans do not usually follow developments within academia or the left with riveted interest. But all last year, the articles kept appearing: "Political correctness" was the cover story of the Jan. 21, 1991, issue of *New York*, the entire February 18 issue of *The New Republic*, Dinesh D'Souza's article in the March 1991 issue of *The Atlantic* and innumerable articles elsewhere in the mainstream media. "Political correctness" has also fascinated the intelligentsia. It has been a continuing theme in *The New York Review of Books*, from John Searle's "The Storm Over the University" to C. Vann Woodward's review of Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*.

The response to the attack has not been nearly as effective. There have been articles in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, based on interviews with feminist faculty and faculty of color. There have been critical reviews of neoconservative books on higher education. Still, the neoconservatives have had the upper hand in this debate, partly because the media have highlighted their

charges, but also because the defenders fail to address the social concerns to which the attack speaks.

I suspect that the public attention to the "political correctness" debate reflects not only fears—especially among whites and men—about the impact of affirmative action, but also less easily articulated fears that American culture is coming apart, that it is disintegrating into a series of disconnected and potentially warring fragments.

The neoconservatives are attacking university radicals for intellectual and cultural developments far beyond the control of the left, inside or outside the university. The attack is intellectually sloppy. It labels people as leftists who do not deserve to be so described, and it distorts the broadly progressive, or critical, academic culture that it is attacking.

Nevertheless, the attack raises some uncomfortable issues for the left and for the much broader critical culture that the neoconservatives confuse with the left.

PC history: The media's obsession with "political correctness" began in October 1990, when the Western Humanities Conference held a forum entitled "'Political Correctness' and Cultural Studies" at the University of California-Berkeley. The conference, organized by promoters of multicultural and feminist perspectives in the humanities, was intended to examine the impacts, both positive and negative, of explicit political agendas in scholarship. Richard Bernstein, a neoconservative, reported on the conference for *The New York Times* and turned it into a 20th Congress of the U.S. academic left, a collective acknowledgement by former student radicals, now in positions of academic power, that under their influence the universities have come under the sway of a new orthodoxy from the left. He asserted that:

"[A] cluster of opinions about race, ecology, feminism, culture and foreign policy defines a kind of 'correct' attitude toward the problems of the world, a sort of unofficial ideology of the university. ... 'Politically correct' has become a sarcastic jibe used by those, conservatives and classical liberals alike, to describe what they see as a growing intolerance, a closing of debate, a

pressure to conform to a radical program or risk being accused of a commonly reiterated trio of thought crimes: sexism, racism and homophobia. ... The dubious implications of a politically correct orthodoxy have fallen under some scrutiny by the left, and that is what the conference last weekend at Berkeley was about."

Bernstein argued that, in spite of such good intentions, the conference had been more an illustration than an examination of the problems of politically correct orthodoxy. He quoted one conference participant—Leon Botstein, president of Bard College—as arguing that "the universities are being polarized into two intolerant factions. The idea of candor and the deeper idea of civil discourse is dead. The victims are the students."

Bernstein's attack set off a flurry of similar pieces, many of them written either by neoconservatives or by journalists who echoed the neoconservative view that a new breed of academics, who give precedence to politics over the traditional value of scholarly objectivity, has come to power in the universities. The attack on free speech by "tenured radicals" (a reference frequently made in these articles to neoconservative Roger Kimball's book by the same name) is, according to these accounts, reinforced by "politically correct" students who denounce and harass faculty or other students caught using disapproved language or otherwise violating the new "code."

What's wrong with PC? I hesitate to use the term "political correctness" without quotation marks because I have never heard it used on the left except in a joking way; as far as I know, it is not used to refer to a politics that anyone actually endorses. Also, I hesitate to adopt a term that carries the right-wing agenda of the neoconservatives. But the term does get at what seems to me to be a troubling atmosphere having to do with the intersection of identity, politics and moralism.

The neoconservatives describe "politically correct" students and faculty denouncing and intimidating liberals, and clearly there are instances of this—but what I am more aware of is a process of self-intimidation in the name of sensitivity to racism, sexism and homophobia, which tends to close down discussion and make communication more difficult.

John Taylor, in his article on PC in *New York* magazine, claims that the guiding principle of PC is: "Watch what you say." People are being denounced, he wrote, for speaking of Indians rather than Native Americans or blacks rather than African-Americans, or for using the word "girl" rather than "woman"—even when the person in question is a teenager. One can object that we *should* watch what we say: that this is what is required to criticize and, ideally, transform a culture that is deeply imbued with racism, sexism and homophobia. Still, there is a difference between maintaining a critical awareness of the assumptions behind our language and creating a subculture in which everyone fears being charged with bias or is on the lookout for opportunities to accuse others of it.

I frequently find myself participating in discussions that appear dominated by a collective fear of saying something wrong: betraying a racist, sexist or homophobic atti-



Speakers: Maria Elena Alves • Stanley Aronowitz • Bogdan Denitch • Boris Kagarlitsky • L. A. Kauffman • Ernest Mandel • Jo-Ann Mort • Joseph S. Murphy • Major Owens • Frances Fox Piven • Daniel Singer • Cornel West • Ellen Willis ... & more!

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tude, or criticizing a movement made up of women, people of color or homosexuals. I find this atmosphere of self-intimidation among students, among faculty and in progressive circles outside the university.

I teach in the History of Consciousness Board at the University of California at Santa Cruz. For years I have used Clayborne Carson's book, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, in my course on social movements. It is increasingly difficult for me to induce what are always predominantly white classes to discuss this book, which asks how SNCC moved from a non-violent politics with a broad appeal to a more sectarian politics with a much narrower base. Discussion is halting at best. The last time this happened, students acknowledged—under my prodding—that they could not talk about the book without entertaining criticisms of a black movement, which would raise the possibility of racism.

I have also had a hard time with discussions of Alice Echols' *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975*, an account of radical feminism in the late '60s and early '70s that includes accounts of the ideological rigidities and personal attacks that took place under the slogan of "the personal is political."

Echols' book is dedicated to the goals of radical feminism, just as Carson's is to the goals of the civil rights movement. But both books include candid accounts of problems. My class, which was predominantly female and strongly feminist, was not silenced by this book, but the tone of the discussion was disapproving. Students' comments implied that an account that placed women, especially feminists, in a bad light was sexist. Some students argued that even if early feminists had made some mistakes, to write about them was to give ammunition to the enemy.

This kind of attitude is by no means limited to students. I attended a meeting of feminists of my own generation—some academics, some activists—held to discuss Echols' book. Most women who had not been directly involved in this history (which, in this case, mostly meant the women more identified with academia) argued that Echols must be wrong, these things could not have happened. And if they had happened, surely they had not been important and should not be emphasized in an account of the history of feminism.

Several women who had been closer to the movement (including one former leading radical feminist, whose role—and mistakes—were described at length in the book) argued that these things *had* in fact happened, that they were an important part of the history of the women's movement and that if we wanted to build another movement we had better look carefully at these problems, because similar things could recur.

Self-intimidation can also get in the way of people talking with one another across divisions of race, gender or ethnicity. For example, a coalition of student groups, calling itself the Student Anti-War Coalition, played a major role in last spring's quite impressive anti-war mobilization on the Santa Cruz campus. One of the member groups was a progressive Jewish student organization. Several weeks into the war, some of its members did not know if they could continue to oppose the war. Their representatives reported this to the coalition. The coalition, instead of re-

greeting the departure of this group, decided to abandon the name "anti-war coalition" and entered a period of crisis about its own identity and role.

In the faculty anti-war organization, the issue that we never managed to discuss was the Israel-Palestine question—out of the fear that there might be conflict, and, I think, out of a deeper fear that positions might be expressed that might be interpreted as anti-Semitic.

The problem is not merely self-censorship. There are also overt attempts to define certain areas as off-limits for discussion. Many people in the organized Jewish community have habitually equated criticisms of Israel with anti-Semitism and have been ready to call any Jewish person who consistently makes such criticisms a self-hating Jew. This has been a problem not only for Jews who are critical of Israel and do not want to be written out of the Jewish community, but also for the peace movement as a whole.

Clearly, sensitivity to anti-Semitism is legitimate. Anti-Semitism is very much alive, and the war was an occasion for widespread

Basing politics primarily on identity leads to problems. In the name of opposing objectification, identity politics can reinforce it.

expressions of it. But it does not help the fight against anti-Semitism when charges of it are used to silence one side of a legitimate debate.

An old problem: This is certainly not the first time that the fear of saying something wrong has stifled discussion in progressive movements. In the Communist Party, we called it "correct lineism." Unfortunately, the tendency to use ideology as a weapon against others in the same movement has not been limited to Communists or other Marxist-Leninists. Virtually every sector of the radical movement was overcome by this dynamic in the late '60s. In the anti-war movement, it was accepted practice for leading activists (mostly men) to browbeat other activists (often women) by wielding what they regarded as a superior political line. Nor was this behavior limited to white men. The same dynamic was replicated within the women's movement and the black movement, as well as in the interactions among all these movements.

The tendency to use ideology as a bludgeon is an ever-present danger for a social movement. The "correct lineism" of the Marxist tradition involved a humorless, single-minded focus on results. By contrast, today's "political correctness" comes out of a movement, or a political atmosphere, that is dominated by identity politics. It is more oriented toward moral than strategic thinking; it often seems more concerned with what language is used than with what changes are made in the social structure. The danger is not so much regimentation as preachiness, a search for moral self-justification, the assigning of moral status in terms of exclusion or subordination, and the use of moral judg-

ments as clubs against ourselves and others.

Perhaps today's "political correctness" bears some relation to the peculiar situation in which we find ourselves in the '80s and '90s. We have considerable cultural influence, at least in some areas (notably the university and intellectual circles), but virtually no political clout. This state of affairs can lead to frustration, cynicism about the possibility of political effectiveness and a temptation to focus on berating each other rather than finding grounds for unity.

Identity politics' appeal is no doubt partly due to the fact that the identities that have become the main basis for radical discourse are often uncertain or fragile—especially for young people. Enormous numbers of people of color in the U.S. are racially mixed. This is probably more the case for younger generations than older ones, and particularly true among the young people of color of relatively privileged class backgrounds. Lesbian and gay identities can also be fragile: A student who defines him or herself as homosexual today may adopt a different definition tomorrow.

Adopting a political identity as a Jew is—for many Jews—problematic, given the political positions that it connotes, and also given the long history of Jewish involvement in a more broadly defined left. Self-definition as a woman is stable, but its meaning may be very different for different women, and for the same woman at different points in her life. In any event, the women's movement does not have the same vitality on today's campuses as movements of gays, lesbians and people of color.

A politics based on identity encounters not only the problem of the fragility of particular categories of identity but the fact that everyone occupies various categories at once. One may be female but white, or black but male. Thus, virtually everyone is vulnerable to some charge of privilege. The language of "political correctness" is saturated in guilt—from which no one is immune.

In a world of shifting identities, emphasizing one's difference from others can give organizations, and people, a sense of security. But it can also stymie efforts to find common ground for action. I am not arguing that we should soften our opposition to racist, sexist and homophobic language, but that a politics that is organized around defending identities based on race, gender or sexuality forces people's experience into categories that are too narrow and also makes it difficult for us to speak to one another across the boundaries of these identities—let alone create the coalitions needed to build a movement for progressive change.

Basing politics primarily on identity leads to several problems. In the name of opposing objectification, identity politics can actually reinforce it.

For instance, I am a woman and a Jew; but I am also a product of the left, in particular the Old Left, and an intellectual. These latter terms are also important parts of my identity—and of my experience of objectification, in a society not particularly fond of either Communists or intellectuals.

But these terms do not easily fit into a moral framework. And a political language that does not know how to incorporate aspects of identity such as these, but tries to fold all experience into categories of race,

sexuality and gender, compounds the objectification. It also makes it more difficult for people to understand their own experience in a complex way, to understand that different aspects of identity can take on different meanings at different times or can be more or less important at different points in people's lives.

The language of "political correctness" takes on different tones among different groups of people. Many students see identity politics as their only point of leverage in a society with shrinking resources. Faculty members who find the language of "political correctness" compelling are more often drawn to it by an uneasiness about privilege combined with a sense of powerlessness. There is no denying our privilege: Faculty members at least have stable, interesting jobs, secure incomes and opportunities for status and prestige. But on a deeper level, for those of us who were students in the '60s and either took part in or identified with the movements of that time, the experience of being incorporated into academia has involved a profound defeat.

We were part of, or powerfully influenced by, a movement that criticized the university for serving the corporations and the military, for reproducing within itself the competition and alienation of capitalist society. This is, of course, one of the reasons why many activists did not continue in academia. Those of us who did hoped that we could begin to transform the universities from within, as well as provide intellectual resources that would help sustain a broader radical movement. Academia has changed in certain ways: There is more room for women and people of color than there was 20 years ago. There is also more room for feminist and multicultural curricula. But the university as a whole has not changed, either in its internal structure and values or in its relation to society. The university remains rigidly hierarchical. It promotes individualism and competition, and military research continues. The University of California, where I work, continues to sponsor the production of nuclear weapons.

For those of us who hoped for something better, this situation produces various combinations of guilt and alienation. I think that a sense of collective powerlessness has something to do with the appeal of a relativism that often borders on nihilism. It also has something to do with the aridity of much left and feminist theoretical discourse, the widespread use of a vocabulary that makes it virtually impossible to speak with passion, the attraction to a language largely inaccessible to outsiders. It helps explain the appeal of a moralistic form of politics. The right's ascendance to power in the late '70s has left us with a poor set of options. The current progressive academic culture is shaped by the odd situation of being a radicalized generation caught both in an era dominated by the right and in an institution in which the possibility of radical transformation has come to seem remote. In this sense, "political correctness" is a substitute for radical politics, a wish for a radical community that we don't have, and for the ability to make changes that seem beyond our reach.

Barbara Epstein wishes to thank Jeffrey Escoffier and the members of the *Socialist Review* collective for their comments on this article.

By Travis Charbeneau

WAY BACK IN 1971, THE U.S. Congress voted not to support the building of an American Super-Sonic Transport, the SST. Opponents said the SST was too noisy, too expensive and, essentially, non-essential. Ensuing energy crises, airline deregulation and the continuing novelty status and red ink of the British-French Concorde proved them right. But this decision was pivotal as well as prophetic.

For the first time since the Industrial Revolution began, our culture made a joint decision *not* to develop

TECHNOLOGY

a technology. Until then, the prevailing mode was: "If it's possible to build (and profitable to build), then, by God, *build* it." This definition of "progress" helped bring us a high standard of living along with the multiple-independently-targeted-re-entry vehicle (MIRV) and a host of dubious gadgets which together comprise the other edge of technology's two-edged sword. The action against the SST signaled the need for, and the trend toward, technology assessment and control—not by "experts" but by ordinary citizens—dealing with the very basic and often moral controversies of very complex technologies. Futurists call this "anticipatory democracy."

Clone rangers: Basic moral controversies involving technology and its social impacts go back to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution: William Blake's "dark, satanic mills" and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, a dystopian treatise on the potential for science and technology, not just monsters, to run amok. The Frankenstein scenario is echoed today in the development of patented life forms and researchers who are now very near the capability of genetically engineering a combination man-chimp. Just slightly further off is the human clone.

The moral questions raised by these particular technologies are obvious, as many in the genetics research community recognize. And, just in case they don't, societal pressures in some form would surely step in to forbid the more clear-cut cases of techno-craziness.

But there are other areas where technology is raging ahead without the moral issues being so clearly raised, or where those issues are obscured by competing moral claims. Until recently, the arms race was chief among them, concerned with the premier moral issue of our time: better dead than red. Defense systems have always involved technologies whose assessment was placed beyond the control of ordinary citizens, although the consequences are potentially disastrous for the species, not merely inconvenient, as were the follies of the SST.

The problem in any "defense" context is the ancient, all-prevailing dictum (as old as "Thou shalt not kill"), namely, "The Other Guy." The Other Guy is Evil. We must smite him with the jaw of a radioactive ass. "The Other Guy" was so vile in the case of communism that his demise was surely worth the price of one measly planet and certainly precluded any real argument about whether or not to make ever-more-devastating bullets.

Anyone suggesting an SST-style debate on Star Wars, etc., still tends to get smeared as an anti-patriot. After all, the only substantial menace we faced by not building the SST was that we might have to start three hours earlier on our trip to Paris. Failure to build suitable Doomsday Machines might leave Americans vulnerable to standing in long lines for poor quality toilet paper.

The future needs work: Another potential arena for technology as-

essment and control, assuming we survive the first one, concerns the automation of labor. In or out of "recession," both blue- and white-collar workers are being automated out of work faster than they can be reabsorbed into new jobs. New jobs created by the usurper, high technology, turn out to be about 10 percent highly technical and managerial and 90 percent menial, and just as subject to automation as any other industry.

Moral controversies involving the social impacts of technology go back to the dawn of the Industrial Revolution.

Just now, technologies of exportation are cheaper than those of automation, so even these menial jobs can just as well be exported to Mexico until the robots arrive. We are faced with the prospect of an America where half a dozen people push the necessary buttons while the rest of us serve each other fast food we can't afford.

Isn't automation a technology that needs to be assessed and controlled? And if so, in what way? The Luddites of the early Industrial Revolution in England tried to wreck new power looms which, they quite rightly assessed, were destroying their livelihoods. That was a form of technology assessment and at least attempted control. But it didn't work for the Luddites, and it won't work for us, though we are tempted to try.

The old, labor-intensive Industrial Revolution could quickly absorb the Luddites into some other mind-crushing form of wage slavery. Our modern, capital-intensive, highly-

automated internationalized systems of producing goods and services could go right on disemploying people until either there's no one left able to consume those products, or real civil unrest ensues. We are barely keeping our sinking standard of living afloat now only because half the population gave up raising children to go to work and provide a second income. As our situation deteriorates, will the kids be expected to provide a third? Will they be too stoned or too stupid to do so?

Technology assessment and control has broader implications than anyone could have imagined 200 years ago when the Industrial Revolution began. Stanford futurist Dr. Willis Harman says, "The basic problem is that perfectly reasonable micro-decisions, by all the criteria that have governed in the past, are adding up to largely unsatisfactory macro-decisions. This constitutes the fundamental management dilemma of industrialized society." So. Who will do the managing? Any technology powerfully and unilaterally affecting the nature of people's lives will increasingly come under social policy pressures. That's a bottom line, ideology be damned.

Casualties of capital: In private enterprise, the amount of policy meddling will be very much up to business and the amount of social responsibility it takes. If we don't want to risk quashing initiative and competitiveness, new technologies will have to be counterbalanced by so-far-unprecedented corporate social policies that at the very least anticipate and effectively deal with human and environmental casualties.

In the past, if a technology could be invented and successfully marketed, it was. We dealt with the implications later. Much later. No assessment and control committee sat in judgment—before or after the fact. Free-enterprising Americans balk at such ideas, and well we might. Had some committee envisioned the ultimate impact of the automobile on America, would they have let Henry Ford build one within each citizen's budget? Would we have tolerated any stifling edicts forbidding him to try? But what about "Baby M"? Or Star Wars? What about that man-chimp, Zippy 846, who just parked his butt next to yours on the assembly line?

In today's far more volatile technological environment, faced with recombinant DNA research, new life forms, the capacity to destroy or disemploy the planet, we are being forced to consider the consequences of our racial genius. We can't, as our forbearers did, let the consequences ride for our children to face. We don't have the luxury of such irresponsibility. Things are progressing too rapidly on too broad a front. We are the ones who will be living with the consequences of today's decisions. "We" must make them.

Travis Charbeneau is a writer living in Richmond, Va.

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Future schlock: technical 'can do' isn't 'must do'

By J.C. Grochot Sr.

Dubious lessons of 'report card'

THIS STORY TAKES PLACE IN THE land of the blind, where the one-eyed man is king: America's public-school empire. The moral is borrowed from *Alice in Wonderland*, *Catch-22* and *The Wizard of Oz*—actually, any classic in which the absurd triumphs over reason or illusion becomes the reality. And the ending is enough to make an "Education President" puke. It begins in the corridors of power and hype in Washington, D.C. With

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much fanfare, government officials have pulled the curtain off the National Education Goals Report. The sterile title was quickly nicknamed "the Nation's Report Card," which helped it achieve the necessary razzmatazz for a featured segment on the morning variety shows of all three networks. Their brows furrowed and voices sullen, education officials announced, with deep regret and concern, that experts in the field of classroom instruction had given the kids in the U.S. a failing grade.

Worse yet, youngsters in all 50 states were diagnosed to be dumber than the little yellow rascals whose sneaky grandfathers attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 and whose conniving parents now heist American jobs, jobs, jobs.

Down the news hole: After the sensational document was unveiled for the early TV crowd, clever quotes from those in the know were rebroadcast on the evening news and then recycled at bedtime. Finally, they faded into oblivion when some other high-ranking authority in some other agency made some other startling comment about some other impending crisis.

In the hectic profession of spoon-fed journalism, there was no time for the correspondents poised on the White House lawn to scan the 245-page National Education Goals Report.

There was time only to flash a visual of its cover and to collect sound bites from a few of the celebrities who issued it. When the hoopla subsided, however, some inquiring citizens with minds of their own took time to study the words on each page. These non-conformists came up with the kinds of questions that a contrived press conference was designed to suppress:

Who wrote this abomination of the English language? Who assembled this confusing assortment of grammatical errors, punctuation mistakes, misspelled words, run-on sentences and agonizing double-talk? Who taught these experts to read and cipher? Who let them near anybody's children?

Take a look, as those skeptics did, at a muddled introductory paragraph, but be forewarned—you are

not among the stupid if you can't make out what it means, or if you come to the conclusion it amounts to circumlocution and nonsense. Here goes:

While the report is relatively comprehensive in some areas, there are also many gaps. The National Education Goals Panel wants to see these gaps filled so that more complete and accurate information about the nation's and states' progress can be presented in the future. The magnitude of this challenge requires extensive discussion and a consensus from many parties at all levels. As a first step, the Panel sought and received recommendations from teams of experts in each Goal area on potential strategies for addressing present data shortcomings (see Acknowledgments [sic] for a listing of experts by Goal area). The Panel hopes these proposals will serve as the beginning of a national dialogue on these important issues.

The inquiring citizens, gritting their teeth, volunteered to start that national dialogue. In plain English, there was plenty to talk about.

Dizzy spells: Gary Lutz, an English language professor at the University of Pittsburgh, wanted to know if the panel members would participate in a spelling bee, starting with the word acknowledgements. He was curious if anyone on the panel was aware that there's an "e" between the "g" and the "m," not between the "d" and the "g."

Lutz, referring to other parts of the report, wanted to quiz panel members about their own marks in high school after they took tests on singular subjects and plural verbs, redundancies, misplaced and dangling modifiers, proper and common

nouns, commas, periods and semicolons, clarity and brevity. These were fundamental principles they

Five screwups per page is better than average for such a lofty group of "educationists."

needed to understand before they earned a diploma, and most certainly before they embarked on careers in academic demagoguery.

Lutz estimated that there were nearly five language abuses per page of the report.

Professor Richard Mitchell of Glassboro State College in New Jersey was uncharacteristically op-

timistic. He figured five screwups per page was better than average for such an enormous collection of lofty "educationists."

Mitchell, known as the Underground Grammarian among English language scholars, is the author of two caustic books about the irreparable harm bureaucrats have done to raw intellects, *Less than Words Can Say* and *The Graves of Academe*.

He painted the panel with the same prickly brush that he used in "The Worm in the Brain," the opening chapter of his first book. The chapter describes the mental deterioration of a colleague as he climbed the ladder from professor to dean.

This is Mitchell's portrayal of the colleague while he was a teacher, and what he later became:

"He was an engaging chap. ... We did some work together—well, not exactly work, committee stuff—and he would send me a note whenever there was to be a meeting. Something like this: 'Let's meet next Monday at two o'clock, OK?' I was always delighted to read such perfect prose."

As the fellow rose through the ranks, the messages changed. One began: "This is to inform you...." And another: "Please be informed that the Committee on Memorial Plaques" Mitchell helplessly watched the decline.

"You would think, wouldn't you, that the worm or whatever had at last done its work," Mitchell complained. "Even worse, much worse, was to come. ... To this day that man still sends out little announcements and memos about this and that. They begin: 'You are hereby informed....'"

As the worm turns: So who actually wrote the worm-wood prose of the National Education Goals Report? A stodgy committee of academic bureaucrats?

No, it was another team of experts, this one from an international public relations firm, Hill & Knowlton. Sound familiar?

It is the same Hill & Knowlton to which the emir of Kuwait funneled millions of dollars to sell the Persian

Gulf War to the American population. It is the same Hill & Knowlton that created the script for the tearful "eyewitness" congressional testimony of 15-year-old Nayirah and her tale of Kuwaiti babies wrenched from hospital incubators and strewn on the cold tile floor by Saddam Hussein's invasion force. Hill & Knowlton urged Congress to withhold her full identity, Nayirah al-Sabah, to protect her from retaliation, and also to protect her father, Kuwait's ambassador to the U.S.

It is also Hill & Knowlton whose top executive was Craig Fuller, the same Craig Fuller who served through most of the '80s as the chief of staff for Vice President George Bush.

Teach 'em a lesson: Putting such "creative writing" specialists in charge of the school's "National Report Card" is dubious at best. Equally suspect is letting thousands of bureaucratic "educationists" impose rules of conduct on pros such as John Taylor Gatto, a three-time New York City Teacher of the Year. "My license certifies me as an instructor of English language ... but that isn't what I do at all. I don't teach English, I teach school," Gatto told an award ceremony audience last year.

To underscore his point, Gatto cited the lesson of the bells. "Nothing important is ever finished in my class nor in any class I know. Students experience life on the installment plan. They must turn on and off like light switches ... proceed quickly to the next workstation ... when the bell rings. Indeed, the lesson of the bells is that no work is worth finishing."

Gatto's address was printed verbatim in *The Sun*, a North Carolina monthly magazine that offered this observation about his theme: "Schools have traded their educational function for one of social coordination. They fulfill crucial tasks required by a way of life that emphasizes large over small, economic muscle over political consensus, hierarchy over community." ■

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SHRINK RAP



The Dylanist

By Brian Morton
HarperCollins, 312 pp., \$19.95

By Eleanor J. Bader

BRIAN MORTON'S FIRST NOVEL, *The Dylanist*, the coming-of-age story of Sally Burke, is so well written and poignant one almost forgets that a man's rendering of a female life cannot quite capture the elemental truths of sex roles and gender shackles. But Morton comes close.

Sally is believable, a woman many of us know or have known. Born in

FICTION

1957 and reared in Teaneck, N.J., she is fundamentally "a suburban girl, so the city was strange to her. Strange, vast, frightening. But she was even stranger, vaster. More frightening."

Unlike her father, Francis Xavier Burke, a larger-than-life, small-c communist turned labor organizer who believes that "if you're not working to make things better for everyone, you aren't really alive," Sally has no mission, no drive to capture her passions and direct the course of her existence. "Sally had all the proper leftist views," Morton writes. "She wanted all the right things for the world, but... If she were to be written about she'd be written about as a victim of a blank time, a time in which you couldn't fill in the blank with anything but your own bare personality. She was locked into a small story of private life."

Reinventing the wheel: A friend calls her a (Bob) Dylanist and describes her as not believing in causes. "You only believe in feelings," he tells her as she nods assent. It is as if feminism never happened as this hip, smart, funny, charming woman suddenly understands her-



Detail of jacket illustration, ©Steven Rydberg

Sensation and sensibility: reinventing the self

self, thanks to a man arriving on the scene to define her. "Dylan gave her hope," she concurs. "He showed that you could make your life a work of art. She loved the way he remained fluid, reinventing himself endlessly, refusing to be trapped by other people's expectations. She wanted to be like that. She wanted to reinvent herself endlessly."

This flightiness is the antithesis of the kind of female behavior Sally was

reared to regard as normal. Hannah, her mother, has much in common with her daughter—they both enjoy children and work in elementary schools, they both love to serve and see themselves as necessary help-mates to the men in their lives, they both savor independence as long as they have families to nurture and support them.

Nonetheless, Hannah has a political ground on which to stand. A life-

long activist, she can be fierce, eloquent and tough in fighting injustice from the classroom to city hall. This leaves Sally feeling envious. Once again, her mother's ability to rail against the bosses, political corruption and racism leaves Sally searching for a self-definition or re-definition.

"When they were her age," she realizes, while accompanying her parents to an Abraham Lincoln Brigade fund-raiser, "they were taking risks greater than any she could imagine: Men and women in their 20s, they had told their government to go to hell and traveled halfway around the world to fight for a cause. Spain: When people who'd been around in the '30s spoke the word, they had almost a religious catch in their throats. For an entire generation, Spain had meant commitment, solidarity, the vision of a better future. For Sally, there was no Spain."

Politics evaporates: While Sally's sense of rootlessness rings true to type—if Morton were a less skilled writer she would have been a caricature of a 30-something New York cynic waiting for marriage and motherhood to carry her to greener pastures—I was left with a profound sense of disquiet and frustration upon letting her into my life. Why was she so detached, disconnected and full of angst?

Morton's explanation does not fully add up: "The world seemed tired. When she was a kid and [her brother] Daniel would come home from college talking about demonstrations and teach-ins, she couldn't

wait to grow up and be a rebel herself. But everything had changed. She still felt like a rebel, but she didn't know quite what to rebel against. Politics had disappeared."

But, of course, politics haven't disappeared. Sally's contemporary, Ben Linder, died in Nicaragua, an American fired up by the promise of a democratic Sandinista-led revolution in that tiny Central American

"Dylan showed that you could make your life a work of art. She loved the way he remained fluid, reinventing himself endlessly, refusing to be trapped by other people's expectations."

country. Hundreds, maybe thousands, participated in work crews patterned after the Abraham Lincoln Brigade throughout the 1980s in Central and South America and Africa. AIDS activists, many of them straight, have carved out new niches of activism and altered American perceptions of acceptable sexual behavior and propriety with regard to medical care and treatment. And, although abortion was legalized in 1973, when Sally was a teenager, thousands of her peers have taken to the streets and the statehouses to protect a right they view as precious, if not sacred.

Sally, for her part, seems untouched by any of this, languishing instead in a nostalgia for political life that borders on the pointlessly sentimental. As a result, I got angrier and angrier as I read her tale, particularly when she hooks up with Ben McMahon, a labor organizer strikingly similar to her father. This is, once again, the story of a man setting the stage for a good woman to dance on.

What saves *The Dylanist*, however, is Morton's incredible gift of language and eye for detail. There is also a healthy dose of humor here. Nonetheless, Morton's ostensibly deep-rooted sense that he missed the political boat left me sad and troubled, especially since we came of age at the same time. Is the future simply an amalgam of individual lives strung together by a tentative hold on moral and ethical concerns? Or can political action still capture the imagination and infuse a sense of hope in the hopeless?

I'll put my money on the latter, however precarious the state of either the world or our lives. Meanwhile, I hope to find Morton on the frontlines and fully thrash this out. Or maybe a local bar would be more appropriate.

Eleanor J. Bader is a writer living in New York.

NOTEBOOK

Saint Maybe

By Anne Tyler
Alfred A. Knopf, 337 pp., \$22.00

Ian Bedloe, nicknamed Saint Maybe by his sassy niece, is looking for an understanding that will lead to forgiveness. Ian believes that he has sinned, big time, and is looking for penance so that he can get on with his life.

When the book opens, Ian is a typically horny 17-year-old high school student. Within a year, however, he is transformed. The death of his older brother, Danny, in an accident-maybe-suicide, followed by his sister-in-law's could-have-been-accidental drug overdose, leaves him in charge of three young children. Despite help from his rapidly aging parents, Ian is forced to change himself from a fun-loving kid into a super-responsible adult and parent.

While others might have faltered under the weight of so much pressure, Ian does not. In

fact, he seems to rise to the occasion accepting the mounds of laundry, the need for homework intervention, the requests to settle the near-constant squabbles of siblings—the day-in/day-out cries of children trying to understand the Baltimore world in which they are situated—with good humor, respect and cheerful resignation.

Not surprisingly, in no time flat Ian finds himself becoming entirely family centered. Former friends fall by the wayside as the 19-year-olds he previously hung out with feel out of sync with Ian's newfound domesticity. Luckily—or, as some might argue, tragically—Ian ends up wandering into a storefront called the Church of the Second Chance. And the quest for redemption begins.

But *Saint Maybe* is no run-of-the-mill "Get Smart/Get Saved" tract put out by a mangy band of fundamentalist Christians. The

12th novel by the prolific Anne Tyler, *Saint Maybe* is a funny, tender and incredibly touching story of one family's search for decency and love in the face of trying times. The characters are perfectly drawn, with enough quirks and rough edges to make them realistic heroes in a world without many of their kind.

Spanning 25 years, *Saint Maybe* hits a number of important themes: betrayal, loss, loyalty, obligation and the interconnections people need to forge to make sense of their lives. Unlike the lion's share of recently released fiction, it doesn't settle for easy answers or trite, neat solutions. Instead, Tyler makes us plunge into the psyches of others and anticipate their moods and reactions. I've been thinking, worrying even, about the Bedloes for weeks and anticipate *Saint Maybe* staying with me for a long time to come.

—Eleanor J. Bader

By Patrick Z. McGavin

IN MARCH 1953, AT THE FUNERAL OF Josef Stalin, the highly talented Russian emigré Andrei Konchalovsky was 15 years old, unsettled at the course of events, and uncertain of his responsibilities. "I tried to see Stalin, but I couldn't get through, thank God. I could have been killed very easily. I got out because I had a new coat, and I started to lose buttons, and I was afraid my mother was going to kill me. I left, because the coat became more important than Stalin's death, and maybe that's why I survived," he says.

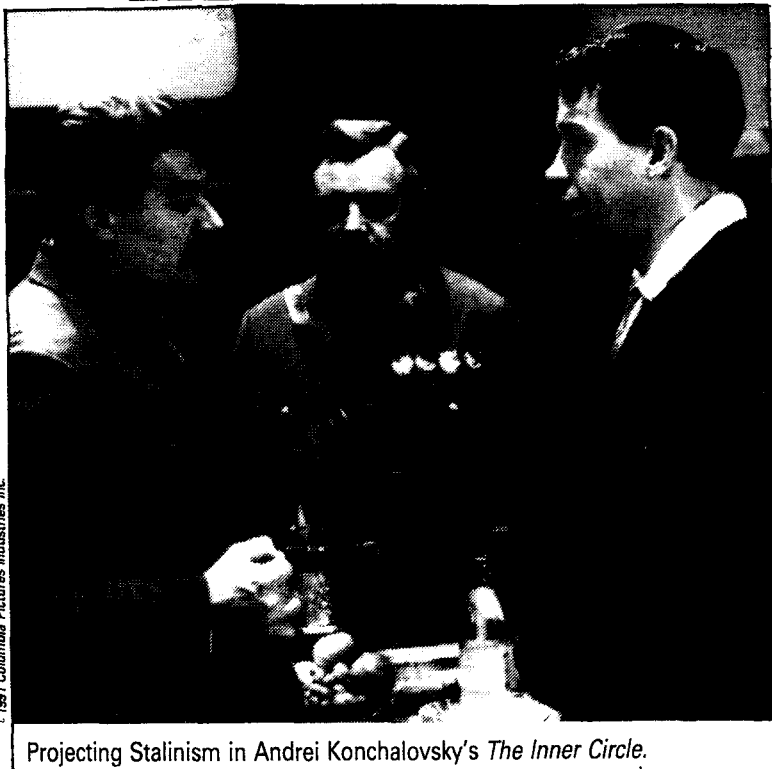
Konchalovsky recreates the crushing incident in his new film, *The Inner Circle*, an Italian-Russian co-production, and the seventh movie he's directed since his 1980 self-imposed exile. With Stalin's body lying in state, 1,500 people were trampled to death in the tangled maze of bodies. The movie is all "true," its events taken from the life of Ivan, a middle-level functionary and former Red Army soldier who insinuated himself into the dictator's ruling elite, as Stalin's personal film projectionist.

Seduction of ideology: This English language movie is played out like an absurdist Eastern European village comedy, a pungent and terrifying investigation about life on the inside, the squalid living conditions, Russian anti-Semitism, state-sponsored fear, the narcissism of the oligarchy, and the impracticality of the system.

It's a movie about the seduction of ideology, and Stalin's iconographic hold. It unfolds in Konchalovsky's characteristic style of fluid camera movement, vigorous framing and cutting, and a feverish dramatic intensity. Tom Hulce plays Ivan, hopelessly naive, except with his "art," the film projector. The talented Lolita Davidovich plays his grave, fatalistic wife. Stalin (nicely played by the Russian actor Aleksandre Zbruev) obsesses over films from abroad, and considers himself an educated, sophisticated viewer.

The actual ruler destroyed the careers of the great Soviet theorists and montage filmmakers Sergei Eisenstein, Dziga Vertov, Lev Kuleshov, Vsevolod Pudovkin and Alexander Dovzhenko, suppressing personal expression and enforcing an ideological rigidity that sent the film industry into a sharp decline. Konchalovsky says the movie isn't about Stalin. "This is a film about Stalinism, about the roots of Stalinism."

"The possibilities are unbelievable, you can reconstruct talking to Eisenstein and Pudovkin, and all of that is very interesting. Stalin's personality was very intriguing. As a writer the most difficult choice I had was cutting off almost everything in order to get to the crux of the trouble. The less Stalin you see, the more interesting and metaphysical this film becomes. So for me, it was very



Projecting Stalinism in Andrei Konchalovsky's *The Inner Circle*.

He's seen censorship from both sides now

important to understand Ivan, and cut off everything that was tempting in order to create a vision. It was a very difficult task, because it's almost masochistic and self-limiting," he says.

The Inner Circle provides a socio-cultural context for Stalin, developed through a perverse notion of normality. "Stalin is ultimate evil. Only at the same time, he was so nice, a father figure who disassociated himself from the terror he created. People believe the state is not very good,

FILM

but Stalin is great. When I was growing up, these images of him were part of your life, at school, at home, in newspaper articles, and you start to learn songs about Stalin. He believed that people were arrested for a reason. You try to justify the injustice, in order to keep yourself from going crazy. He used Russian political ignorance as a fertile soil. In that sense, Ivan is very responsible for Stalin, and that's what the film starts to be about."

The \$14 million film was shot on location, over 16 weeks on Moscow streets, and in the vast, largely outdated Mosfilm Studios. The production designer, Ezio Frigerio, meticulously reconstructed the interiors of the Kremlin. "What any director puts in the film as a detail, that's his style. If you take Antonioni, or Scorsese, or Woody Allen, you see immediately the differences in details, and what they pay attention to. It became very important to create this structure that becomes a metaphysical fear, just small things like bottles, and what is under the chair, and how tension is built.

"I feel the camera doesn't have to move, it conveys tension. When there's tension inside, that's most interesting for me, the emotional in-

tensity. I wanted to cut more, I just wasn't able. I always say, film is like music and architecture, with its own climactic points. You build it as music in the narration," he says.

Prominent pedigree: Andrei Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky is one of the most enigmatic and interesting figures in world cinema. He was born in Moscow, in 1937 into a cultural aristocracy. His grandfather was a world-class pianist, his father Sergei a writer and leader of the writers' union. His brother is the actor and filmmaker Nikita Mikhalkov (*Slave of Love*, *Oblomov*, *Dark Eyes*). A skilled pianist, Konchalovsky studied at the Moscow Conservatoire, and in 1960, he entered VGIK, the state film school Lenin founded in 1919. There Konchalovsky began his association with Andrei Tarkovsky (1932-86), the most important postwar Russian director.

Konchalovsky wrote Tarkovsky's 46-minute thesis film, *The Steamroller and the Violin* (1960), and the director's first unquestioned masterpiece, *Andrei Rublev*, about the highly impressionistic Russian orthodox monk and religious-icon painter. The movie was finished in 1966, suppressed for three years, until it was unveiled to great acclaim at the 1969 Cannes Film festival, and then released in a drastically cut version in the Soviet Union in 1971. Konchalovsky's extraordinary Russian period is largely unknown in this country. *The First Teacher* (1965) is a lyrical adaptation of the Tenguiz Aitmatov novel; *Asya's Happiness* (1966), banned for more than 10 years, concerns a peasant collective, made in a highly textured, improvisational style. His other works include the literary adaptations of Turgenev's *A Nest of Gentlefolk* (1969) and Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* (1970). Konchalovsky's greatest film remains

Siberiade (1979), a four-hour epic that charts the interlocking fates of two families since the 1917 Revolution, that won a special jury prize at Cannes.

In 1980 Konchalovsky emigrated to Los Angeles, where he now lives, moving back and forth from Paris. "I left with the idea I was never going back. I was unemployed and looking for a job. I was offered some terrible films, and I didn't take them. It was hard, because I was offered money I didn't have," he says. Konchalovsky's American period was initiated with *Maria's Lovers* (1984), his first film for the Los Angeles-based independent Cannon Films. *Runaway Train* (1985) was a pessimistic, superb existentialist thriller about two convicts trapped on an out of control locomotive, adapted from an original story by Akira Kurosawa.

Duet for One (1986) was an incisive adaptation of the Tom Kempinski play. Konchalovsky's American masterpiece is *Shy People* (1987), a haunting, elusive drama set in the Bayou; an acute piece about family dynamics that's his most personal American work, shot in the highly stylized chiaroscuro by cinematographer Chris Menges.

Despite Barbara Hershey's best actress award from Cannes, the film was never properly released amid reports of Cannon's financial irregularities, and the questionable business practices of its chairmen, Menahem Golan and Yoram Globus. Konchalovsky's next project was the underrated *Homer and Eddie* (1989), a mythic road movie about the freedom, expansiveness and open spaces of the American West, with two highly accomplished performances from James Belushi and Whoopi Goldberg. Konchalovsky was forced by the producer to make major changes before the film's release. The distribution was held up over the insolvency of its distributor, King's Road.

Frustrated by his obscurity within the industry, and the ongoing distribution snafus, Konchalovsky accepted his first studio project—the troubled Warners' production, *Tango and Cash* (1989), with Sylvester Stallone and Kurt Russell. Konchalovsky left the film before it was finished, over disagreements with Stallone about the tone and shape of the project. Curiously, Konchalovsky's work has suffered under similar fates, whether in the former, state-controlled Soviet industry or the commercial American cinema.

"Of course there are differences, but there is an enormous affinity. You have to find a way to express yourself under pressure. In Soviet society, there was tremendous pressure about ideology and control and censorship. In this country, too much freedom isn't a problem, money is a problem. Here the pressure is you have to get money, and somebody is going to watch how this money is going to be spent. If you deviate from the plan, you can be

punished and maybe the film will be stopped. Some topics are taboo—of course you can make a film about subjects that are totally forbidden, but this film isn't going to be shown," Konchalovsky says.

"There's a self-censorship in the sense audiences don't want to see it. They're not interested in problems that interest you, and you have to make the film. It doesn't mean you have to prostitute your ideas, but you have to find a way to speak with a language that's understandable. Life is a compromise, selection of an image is a compromise," he says.

Making the jump: Given the extent of Konchalovsky's difficulties in the West, how might the two great-

Konchalovsky's work has suffered similar fates in the state-controlled Soviet film industry and in the commercial American cinema.

est, most uncompromising Soviet filmmakers, Tarkovsky and the astonishing Georgian-born Sergei Paradjanov (*Shadows of Our Forgotten Ancestors*), have fared?

"I think neither Tarkovsky nor Paradjanov would have been able to survive and learn. The toughest thing in a free society is to be able to sell yourself. This is a major talent and I haven't learned it yet. With Tarkovsky, he was living in total illusion about what his role in the film industry was, and it hit him very hard when he realized [the practical limitations]. Paradjanov was more flexible—he was kind of a Middle East merchant, he could have traded a lot of things. He was genius. In a sense Paradjanov was like a Soviet Terry Gilliam, because he creates environments in which man is lost, he has to find where is the face among the objects. Tarkovsky was in that sense very different, because he was going completely within the metaphysical soul, within the mind. He sculpted his films. For American audiences, his movies would have been like torture," he says.

Despite his lack of commercial success, Konchalovsky is undeterred. He's determined to find a way to protect his voice within the system. "I've made so many films and none of them have been distributed properly because for me, the most important thing was to make a good film. Now I start to care. I'm thinking first the distribution deal and then the movie, because you make a great film, and then the film is going to be buried and no one is going to be able to see it."

Patrick Z. McGavin is a writer living in Chicago.

Idaho

Continued from page 13

spoken critic of the Superfund program he helped craft, bitterly notes that the EPA has repeatedly missed opportunities to perform expeditious cleanups.

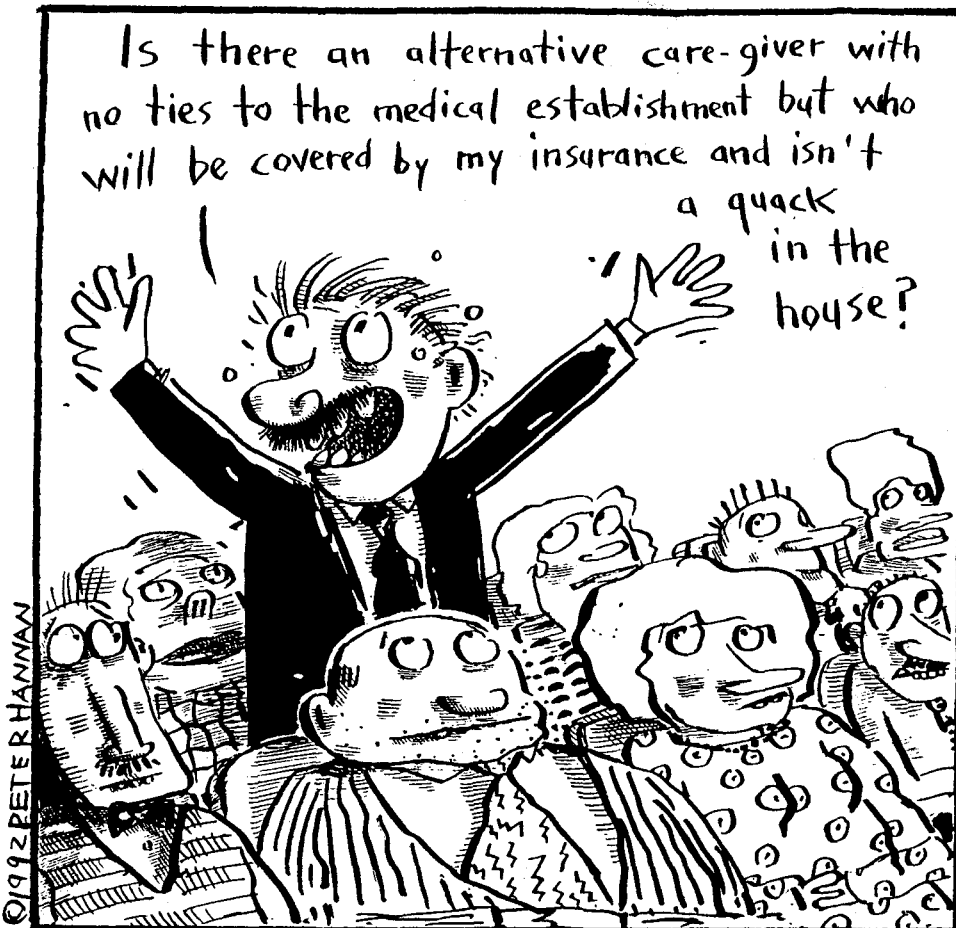
If the Superfund laws were enforced as written, Kaufman says, violators could be

forced to quickly clean their old hazardous waste sites. Strong enforcement, he believes, would deter industry from creating more sites in the future.

As for Bunker Hill, Kaufman calls it yet another "example of EPA using its discretionary authority to the benefit of the polluters."

Natasha Girtsy Jernegan is a freelance writer living in central Idaho.

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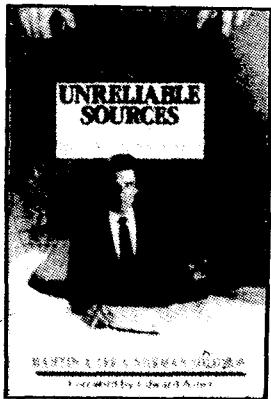
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Tues., March 3-Sun., March 15—Theater of the Oppressed Workshops, led by Augusto Boal; four workshops designed for educators, human services and mental health workers, and political and community activists; call or write for more information.

Wed., March 4, 6:00 p.m.—American Economic History, taught by Marc Chandler; start of second of four five-session units; unit II focuses on Industrialization; runs through April 1; \$50 per unit or \$135 for remaining three units.

Sat., March 7, 8:00 p.m.—A Celebration of International Women's Day, an Evening with Womansong; \$6.

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Fri., March 20 & Sat., March 21, 8:00 p.m.—Dialectical Hoofing: Topical Tap with dancer Jane Goldberg; \$10.

Sun., March 22, 5:00 p.m.—Fred Ho and the Afro-Asian Music Ensemble in Concert and Discussion; \$5.

Tues., March 24, 8:00 p.m.—Feminist Theory: The Second Wave, taught by Lynn Chancer; first of five sessions; session 1: The History of Feminist Theory: An Overview of Basic Concepts; \$40, or \$10 per individual session.

Fri., March 27, 8:00 p.m.—Women and Socialism: Gender's Subordination to Perestroika, a look at the place of gender in the restructuring of the formerly-socialist countries, by Dorothy Rosenberg, \$5.

Sun., March 29, 5:00 p.m.—Perry Robinson in concert; \$5.

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Tues., March 31, 8:00 p.m.—Feminist Theory: The Second Wave, taught by Lynn Chancer; second of five sessions; session 2: The Development of Radical and Cultural Feminism; \$35 for remaining four sessions or \$10 per individual session.

Sat., April 4, 1:00 p.m.—Radical History Walking Tour of Chelsea, led by Bruce Kayton; meets in front of the Chelsea Hotel, 222 West 23 St. (between 7 and 8 Avenues); \$6.

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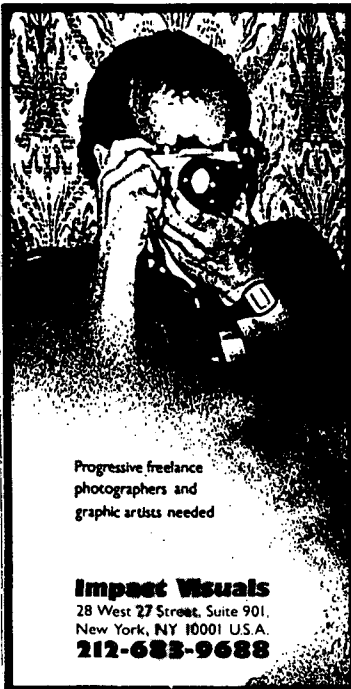
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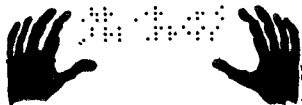
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Reading between the WHINES

By O'Brien Browne

First there is a story about a 12-year-old Tad or Ustice or Reginald or Maggie about the time in 1957 when Auntie came unexpectedly to stay because Father had just run away with his executive secretary and Auntie said *Humph!* the way she always did and Mother threw her one-too-many gin and tonics into the fireplace while Roger stormed in announcing that Madeleine, whom we all called Titi, had just beaten him in tennis, the bitch. Then Auntie announces she really must be going and Mother makes Tad or Ustice or Reginald or Maggie kiss her on the cheek, which is cold and smells of 18th-century Persian carpets and feels like chilled paté, and Auntie leaves and later we heard she had died.

And nothing happens.

On page 17, there is one about He—a successful psychiatrist living on the good side of town—and how She—just graduated and thinking, *Shall I go for my doctorate in German Expressionist Literature or not?*—feels inadequate. Right now, She's teaching history of art to blind, ethnically representative students at a private boarding school. He and She used to go to foreign films and drink wine and take long walks by the river and eat soft foreign cheeses, but all this has changed now because Another She has returned from Paris and this Other She smokes *Gauloise Blondes* and wears black and writes poetry, as the tension builds.

And I'm thinking, *Who gives a damn?*

After that comes the one about Bob and Liz and James and Michael and Diane and how they all live in Vermont and it's always winter, or at least autumn, and everybody wears big wool thick-collared sweaters and drinks scotch before the fireplace and Diane thinks James just might

have a drinking problem, but James doesn't care because he's sleeping with Liz and Michael hasn't found out yet. Meanwhile, Bob is tortured. *Have I failed as a father?* he asks himself, and, *Who's been drinking all my Remy Martin?*

How's that for technically perfect irony?

The next one was written by Recent Discovery, discovered recently by a well-known writer

(who also teaches English Lit at a respected institution of higher learning when not editing a famous literary review). The story is all about how Grandmother, the ice tinkling in her just-a-nip-before-lunchtime screwdriver, just can't seem to decide on wearing pearls or rubies to tonight's recital, but Granddaughter—call her Cynthia—who's a classical violinist and an award-winning, fellowship-encrusted, internationally competitive one at that, can feel

Reflections on thumbing through a recent issue of a famous literary review.

her fingers tingle mysteriously when she thinks of an F-minor. "Oh, Grandmother," she says in exasperation.

And I say to myself: *I must have missed something.* So I turn the

review upside down and shake it vigorously, hoping words will fall out, old-fashioned words like want, hungry, dirty, poor, dead, dead broke, calloused hands, you son of a bitch, or vomit or beer, or afraid, alone, shit or fight, scream, rage or pissed off or man, I really need it bad.

But nothing happens. **O'Brien Browne** is a writer living in Heidelberg, Germany. ■

